# THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 10 Spring · 1941 No. 2


| | |
|---|---|
| Editorial | *Irwin Edman* |
| Peace by Way of the Sword | *E. Merrick Dodd* |
| Hospital Beds: Sociological Problem | *Bertram M. Bernheim* |
| Vigny and Housman, *A Study in Pessimism* | *Arnold Whitridge* |
| International Language and National Cultures | *Albert Guérard* |
| Education vs. Western Civilization | *Walter Lippmann* |
| Harvest, 1940, *A Poem* | *Edward Weismiller* |
| America Registers Her Aliens | *J. H. Pollack* |
| These Glorified Reptiles, Birds | *Charles I. Long* |
| Indian Summer, *A Poem* | *Edward Weismiller* |
| There They Stand, the Yankees | *Stewart H. Holbrook* |
| China's New Weapon—Caricature | *A. L. Bader* |


*Published Quarterly for General Circulation by*

P H I · B E T A · K A P P A

$2.00 a year 50 cents a copy

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHEN it's day-by-day news you want, then it's the newspaper headlines you read. And of course everyone wants that kind of news and wants it quickly. But is that *all* you want? The editorial board of

# THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

believes that there are thousands of persons who want the news behind the news—reports on wars and rumors of wars, but also on occurrences throughout the world whether in the council chamber, the scientific laboratory, the factory or the studio, which have their effect on the lives of men. It is the interpretation of these events, the placing of them in the order of life that we know as history, that THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR tries to give its readers—that is what you will find, for example, in these articles scheduled for forthcoming publication:

ALBERDI, POLITICAL PHILOSOPHER OF SOUTH AMERICA — W. S. Robertson

THE TROUBLE WITH ALDOUS HUXLEY — William B. Lockhart

THE MEANING OF RECOVERY — Jacob Loewenberg

THE SUPREME COURT AND INTERSTATE TRADE WALLS — W. Y. Tindall

FROM PIETY TO ENTERTAINMENT IN CHILDREN'S BOOKS — Kirkor Gumuchian

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is published four times a year, December, March, June and October by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. The annual subscription is $2 (Canada, $2.25; foreign, $2.50). Publication office, Federal and Nineteenth Streets, Camden, New Jersey. Editorial office, 12 East 44th Street, New York, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter at the Post-Office at Camden, New Jersey, under the act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the United States of America. Copyright 1941, by the United Chapters of Phi Beta Kappa. Volume 10, No. 2.

Note—Authors who wish manuscripts returned in case publication is not feasible should attach sufficient postage.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SPRING · 1941 VOLUME 10 · No. 2

# THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

PHI · BETA · KAPPA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# The American Scholar

Spring · 1941 · Vol. 10 · No. 2

## Contents


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Editorial | Irwin Edman | 131 |
| Peace by Way of the Sword | E. Merrick Dodd | 133 |
| Hospital Beds: Sociological Problem | Bertram M. Bernheim | 145 |
| Vigny and Housman, *A Study in Pessimism* | Arnold Whitridge | 156 |
| International Language and National Cultures | Albert Guérard | 170 |
| Education vs. Western Civilization | Walter Lippmann | 184 |
| Harvest, 1940, *A Poem* | Edward Weismiller | 193 |
| America Registers Her Aliens | J. H. Pollack | 194 |
| *Map: Aliens in the United States* | | 201 |
| These Glorified Reptiles, Birds | Charles I. Long | 209 |
| Indian Summer, *A Poem* | Edward Weismiller | 219 |
| There They Stand, the Yankees | Stewart H. Holbrook | 220 |
| China's New Weapon—Caricature | A. L. Bader | 228 |
| *Illustrations* | *opposite* 230, 231; 236, | 238 |

*In the Workshop*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Musical Driftings | Ernst Bacon | 241 |
| Forestry at the Crossroads, *The Problem of Privately Owned Timberland* | A. B. Recknagel | 248 |

*Discussion*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Brave New World | B. A. Garside | 252 |
| A Poet-Philosopher's Research Problem | Goodwin Beach | 252 |
| Tell Mr. Erskine for Me | Ramona Graham | 253 |
| *About Our Authors* | R. E. C. | 254 |


Indexed in the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EDITORIAL BOARD

John Bakeless
Crane Brinton
Irwin Edman
John Erskine
Christian Gauss
Will David Howe
Alvin Johnson
Burton E. Livingston
Felix Morley
William Allan Neilson
Harlow Shapley
Irita Van Doren

William Allison Shimer, *Editor*

Ruth E. Campbell, *Associate Editor*
Beryl Williams, *Assistant Editor*

Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Consulting Editor*

# *Editorial*

IRWIN EDMAN

There is a current failure of nerve among thoughtful people. The necessities of normal and civilized life are luxuries, or seem to be luxuries, in the midst of a world revolution. There is much that one learns to do without, even on the intellectual level. Writers and scholars who would in ordinary times never question for a moment the validity or importance of their enterprises ask themselves, not unnaturally, what is the justification of what they are doing now. One hears philosophers admit aloud that their concern with logical method or metaphysical systems seems just a shade remote. One overhears literary scholars wonder whether concern for "Influences and Origins" of minor poets is essential industry just now. Lyric poets are ashamed to celebrate traditional private emotions. Inquiries even into the nice points of international law seem as remote as other archeological inquiries into the remains of vanished worlds, and explorations of old ruins seem quixotic with new debris, physical and human, being supplied daily by dive bombers. And, as one distinguished logician recently remarked, "Trivialities are trivial in any language, even the most learned."

Undoubtedly much of professional scholarship and writing has been pompously trivial. The alarming fact is that in the hysteria induced by the threat to Western culture the perennially important has come to be stigmatized as negligible. There is all manner of unfinished business in inquiry and creation. Artists and scholars are now issuing manifestos that the unfinished business can wait.

But can the enterprises of learning and art be postponed? Do not men believe this because they have lost faith in the principles which free



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and rational men have been assuming for two thousand years in the Western World? Have not scholars and writers inwardly come to doubt the social efficacy and human hope in inquiry and in co-operative learning, the healing in the communication of art? They have, in their secret hearts, too many of them, accepted the critique that barbarism implicitly makes upon civilization. They have been conquered, not by the dive bombers of the Nazis, but by the only half-acknowledged suspicion that reason and sensibility are, compared with brutality and callousness, failures in the world.

A crisis is a wonderful promoter of short-sightedness. The tradition of Western culture is, as Mr. Walter Lippmann points out in his article in this number, a long one, of which our utilitarian and careerist educations are rendering us forgetful or ignorant. If there is *any* hope for mankind, it flows not least from the affirmations involved in the humane values that, though often interrupted and set back, have never entirely lapsed in the Western World. There was plenty of light even in what used to be called "The Dark Ages." The necessity of keeping the light of rationality alive is more urgent than ever in this present darkened age. One ought to remember that the most liberating of the classics were nearly all produced in periods of great stress. Sophocles, Dante, Spinoza did not live in quiet ages. The humane tradition, kept alive in the most violent of times, may enable us to live with dignity and fortitude in the worst of ages, and to shape, by means of the principles they communicate, the outlines of a better era. We squint in the harsh glare of the fires set by war. Longer views in calmer light will enable us to see more steadily and whole. There is always cause for despair in the best of times. There is also always material for hope: courage rises in the mind and in the history of the mind's best examples.

It is to such hope and courage that the pages of such a journal as this are dedicated. Mr. Lippmann reminds us of the nutritive past; Mr. Guérard of a still not impossible future union of mankind, and of a common language. We are recalled by Mr. Long to the endless prehistoric annals of the reptiles and the birds, and the risk inherent in all growth and adaptation. In the light of the perspective he provides, the human adventure seems less precarious, and one were hasty to regard even the present crisis as fatal or final.

If we are thus called back to longer views and wider perspectives, we learn, as Mr. Whitridge points out, that Vigny's despair preceded Housman's, and other men have faced other but similar crises. But in so far as they were men with free minds, they faced issues that transcended the perplexities of the moment, questions whose very consideration would help men to meet their present perplexities with calm.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Peace by Way of the Sword

E. MERRICK DODD

PACIFISM is the creed of those who believe that participation in war involves a violation of the tenets of their religion or a betrayal of some ultimate ethical value which is for them unchallengeable. It thus differs radically from the pseudo-pacifism which was widely current in western Europe during the years intervening between the First and the Second World War and that still has considerable currency in this country, particularly among college undergraduates. Such pseudo-pacifism is based in part on the incontrovertible thesis that the suffering which war, and particularly modern war, causes and the ruin which it leaves in its wake are very terrible things. It is based in part also on the much more dubious thesis that all modern wars between great nations are wars of rival imperialisms in which, if there is any difference between the combatants, it is only that one side is seeking to retain the entire fruits of its successful aggressions of the past while the other is seeking to share in the spoils. In many of its adherents this pseudo-pacifism is based also on a skepticism about all ideal values, which is the result of the 20th century questioning of everything—the truth of revealed religion, the beneficence of natural science and capitalism—in which the 19th century believed.

I have advisedly called this combination of beliefs pseudo-pacifism. Repugnance for the horrors of war, however deeply felt, is not the equivalent of a religious or ethical conviction that it is morally wrong to participate in war regardless of what the alternative may be. A disillusioned belief that modern governments tend to dress up imperialistic greed and power politics in the false colors of defense of the homeland is not incompatible with recognition that there may conceivably be wars of



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ideals—whether the Cromwellian ideal of a Puritan Commonwealth, the Jeffersonian ideal of a free, individualistic society, or the Marxist ideal of a collectivist Utopia—in which young men may take part without fear they are being beguiled into risking their lives to further some old man's scheme of economic exploitation. And skepticism about the validity of any and all spiritual values is the antithesis of the genuine pacifist's conviction that the spiritual value of non-resistance is of such transcendent importance that it is better, if the need arise, to be shot, as a conscientious objector to shooting, than to take a soldier's part in the defense of one's country.

I am not here concerned with this pseudo-pacifism except to distinguish it from the genuine article. Based as it is on a partial and incomplete mental picture of certain events in the recent past of western Europe and the United States, it has already all but disappeared in England, where young and old alike realize that, whatever may have been true in 1914-1918, they are today fighting in defense of their freedom and their way of life and not merely in defense of their imperial possessions. It is slowly but surely waning here in America, as Americans become increasingly aware of what Hitlerism means and of the extent to which it is a threat to our American civilization.

I am concerned rather with genuine pacifism which is motivated by a conviction believed by those who adhere to it to be of universal and timeless validity and therefore not easily dispelled by knowledge of the abominable evils of Nazi rule or of the indubitableness of Nazi ambition to conquer and enslave the free peoples of the world. Inasmuch as most sincere pacifism is an outgrowth of religion I am concerned primarily with the pacifism of those who believe in a personal God and that participation in war involves disobedience to God's commands.

There are two very different kinds of religious pacifists. There is the pacifist who is indifferent to the fate of human society here on earth and is concerned only with what he conceives to be the relation of his own soul, and perhaps of other



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

souls, to his God. "My duty here on earth," he asserts, "is to obey the commands of God. I believe that God commands me not to fight. Therefore I must not fight. Whether my refusal to fight, or other people's refusals to fight, will wreck civilization is not my affair. If God wishes to preserve civilization He will find some way to preserve it; if He chooses to let it be destroyed, as Sodom and Gomorrah were destroyed, its destruction is foreordained. Meanwhile He has told me not to fight. That is all that I know and all that I need to know."

But most modern religious pacifism is not of this Nihilist sort. Such pacifists as the Quakers and those pacifists of various religious sects who have been active members of the Fellowship of Reconciliation are as much interested as any non-pacifist could be in maintaining human society and in broadening and deepening those spiritual and intellectual values which civilized human society creates and preserves. They are disturbed about the challenge of the Nazis and their totalitarian allies to that society and to those values. But they are convinced that, if we wish to save society, we must abandon what they regard as our grievous error—the assumption that those values which they and we cherish may be defended by force of arms.

Pacifists of the Nihilist sort are generally content if we leave them alone. They object to being drafted into our armies. They may, if their pacifism is of an extreme type, object even to registering for the draft, to doing any kind of work for the government of a nation at war or even to paying taxes for the support of such a government. But because their pacifism is based on a conception of their supernatural relationship to their God and is untainted by any mundane concern about saving our earthly civilization from destruction they are, if not always indifferent about making converts, at any rate unlikely to appeal with success to the modern mind, which is more concerned with the here than with the hereafter. If they are for the most part not greatly concerned with us, provided we leave them alone, we who recognize that civilization is now in peril and are eager to do what we can to save it are hardly concerned at all with them.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Their aims are not ours and their unwillingness to cooperate with us is of little importance to us. There are so few of them that the progress of our boat is not perceptibly retarded by their refusal to pull their own weight.

There is, however, the other type of pacifist whose pacifism derives less from the belief that to participate in war is to imperil one's chances in the world to come than from the conviction that the Kingdom of God can be attained here on earth if, but only if, men of good will are brought to realize that evil cannot be overcome by opposing the armies of evil with counter-armies. Such a pacifist is, of course, eager to convert us to his way of thinking since pacifism will obviously be unable to regenerate our human society unless large numbers of men and women become devoted adherents to the pacifist creed.

The point of view of such pacifists is ably presented in a recent article by a well-known Quaker, Professor Trueblood of Stanford University. He tells us that he and his fellow Quakers earnestly desire that all of us should follow the Quaker way of pacifism, provided only we become sincere and disciplined pacifists ready to endure persecution by non-pacifists with fortitude. "We are willing and eager," he says, "for the entire nation to follow the Quaker way . . . and it is likely that, if the entire nation had adopted our way, there would now be no war." To be sure, he qualifies the contention that an American pacifism could probably have brought about world peace by admitting that "the sudden adoption of non-resistance after war has started" is not likely to succeed. Many other pacifists, however, do not admit even this qualification. Some of them tell us that conquering armies can be quickly tamed by non-resistance or by non-violent resistance (Czech and Danish papers please copy). Others, more plausibly, tell us that, although the pacifism of the conquered will not immediately conquer the conquerors, it will do so in the long run, perhaps in a century or two.

No argument is needed to demonstrate that the way of pacifism, as an immediate means of checking the extension of the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

blight of totalitarianism, is hopeless. And there is little basis for the assumption, made by so many of our pacifists, that pacifist nations would be overrun only temporarily—that they would ultimately convert their conquerors to the pacifist way of life. In this modern world in which neither mountain ranges nor broad oceans are barriers to the armed forces of those seeking to destroy the liberties of all mankind the pacifist way, if pursued by the nations which are still free, would be the suicide of civilization. It would be the suicide of civilization regardless of the amount of discipline possessed by the pacifists. It would be the suicide of civilization even if the pacifists had far more time at their disposal to try out their methods than they could possibly have in this era of Blitzkrieg.

The pacifist theory is founded on a delusion—the notion that, although local government cannot be organized and maintained without the use of force, world peace can somehow be maintained without the use of force. The individual state or nation has and must always have, until the world is populated exclusively by angels, physical force at its disposal in order that it may keep peace within its own borders and protect its own people from murder and robbery and cheating. Although pacifists rarely refer to this necessity few of them actually deny it; and the only pacifist who has ever founded a successful government, the Quaker William Penn, was perfectly clear about the need for recognizing it. For the preface to the frame of government he drew up for his proprietary province of Pennsylvania in 1682 begins with the following significant passage:

> When the great and wise God had made the world, of all his creatures it pleased him to choose man his deputy to rule it; and to fit him for so great a charge and trust, he did not only qualify him with skill and power, but with integrity to use them justly. This native goodness was equally his honour and his happiness, and whilst he stood there, all went well; there was no need of coercive or compulsive means; the precept of divine love and truth in his bosom was the guide and keeper of his innocency. But lust prevailing against duty, made a lamentable breach upon it; and the law, that before had no power over him, took place upon him and his disobedient posterity, that such as would not



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

live conformable to the holy law within, should fall under the reproof and correction, of the just law without, in a judicial administration.

This the apostle teaches us in divers of his epistles. The law (says he) was added because of transgression: In another place, knowing that the law was not made for the righteous man; but for the disobedient and ungodly, for sinners, for unholy and prophane, for murderers, for whoremongers, for them that defile themselves with mankind, and for men-stealers, for liars, for perjured persons, &c. But this is not all, he opens and carries the matter of government a little further: let every soul be subject to the higher powers, for there is no power but of God. The powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to Evil: wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same.—He is the minister of God to thee for good.—Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake.

This settles the divine right of government beyond exception, and that for two ends; first, to terrify evil-doers, secondly, to cherish those that do well; which gives government a life beyond corruption, and makes it as durable in the world, as good men shall be. . . .

Strip from this passage its Garden of Eden myth of an originally sinless humanity and it is as straightforward an avowal as one could wish of the truth (which no one who is responsible for the government of a community can dare to disregard) that every community contains evildoers who cannot be restrained from their evil-doing by kindness but must, for the safety of the community as a whole, be restrained by force.

Why then are Quakers and other pacifists so unwilling to admit that, just as those who break the internal peace of the community must be dealt with by force, so likewise those who break the peace in the international sphere, who seek to invade a country and to deprive it of its liberties, must be dealt with by force? If it is ethical for a policeman to shoot an escaping felon why is it unethical for a soldier to shoot an armed invader? And if most pacifists recognize that there are and will continue to be evildoers in a community who need, as William Penn said, to be terrified by governmental force, why do they assert that the adoption of a pacifist attitude on our part would somehow rid



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the world of evil-doing nations—of nations whose peoples have no choice but to make war because the war-makers have obtained a strangle-hold over their governmental machinery?

Pacifists rarely attempt to answer these questions; but occasionally some unusually clear-sighted pacifist does recognize the need to answer them if pacifism is to be defended as a rational method of dealing with the forces of evil in human society. These attempts to reconcile an acceptance of the use of force in the internal affairs of a nation with its rejection in external affairs usually begin by minimizing the amount of force necessary to maintain peace and order in a community, and by insisting that the anti-social minority who must be restrained by force is a very small group. The protagonists of this view then contrast this local situation with that in the international sphere, where armed conflict involves millions of men and leads not only to the death and suffering of large numbers of innocent people but to an aftermath of bitterness which is likely to prevent the peace that follows war from being an enduring peace. They then stress the difficulties involved in the attempt to create a world order in which collective security would be obtained through the force at the disposal of a league of non-aggressive nations, and assert that it is futile to try to organize international peace in the way in which men have organized internal peace—by combining the creation of a public opinion favorable to peace with the implementing of that opinion by an armed force to be used against those who seek to defy it. Having thus sought to demolish the case for the prevention of war by non-pacifist methods they then insist that, unless we want perpetual war, we have no choice except to accept the pacifist thesis: that through the gradual conversion of the peoples of the world to pacifist ideas, international peace can be obtained without military preparedness.

Unhappily there is nothing in the history of mankind to justify the pacifists' assumption that world peace may be brought about through the slow spread of pacifist ideas. So far as the Western world is concerned—the world of Europe and of the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

countries like the United States which were colonized by Europeans—pacifism has never been the creed of any substantial portion of the population. Early Christians, Mennonites, Quakers were all small sects living in a non-pacifist society. The Christians did, indeed, ultimately obtain control of the Roman Empire but only after they had ceased to be pacifists.

The history of certain parts of Asia is superficially more favorable to the pacifist theory—if one assumes that modern Americans, and even modern Germans, can somehow be induced to behave like 19th-century Chinese or like Hindu followers of Mahatma Gandhi. But the history of those peoples over whom pacifism has obtained its strongest hold—the Chinese and the Indian Hindus—is only superficially favorable to the pacifist thesis.

Take the case of China. The teachings of Buddha, of Lao-Tse and of Confucius were strongly tinged with pacifism; and the majority of the Chinese people, who were deeply affected by the teachings of these men, for centuries looked upon the profession of the soldier as unworthy. As a result China has frequently been conquered by small groups of determined men, most recently by the Manchus in the 17th century. It has often been said that the Manchu conquest was, from the standpoint of the Chinese, a harmless one, with little effect on Chinese life or on Chinese civilization. That is true; but the reasons why it is true are illuminating. Chinese life during the period of the Manchu Empire was, in the main, the life of people who lived in villages having little economic or intellectual communication with one another. And the Manchu conquerors, who were few in number, had no interest in these village communities except to tax them. Consequently village life continued substantially unchanged.

But mark what has happened during the last few years. First of all the Chinese, during the period just prior to the outbreak of the war with Japan, were rapidly evolving into a modern nation. China was becoming industrialized, which meant that its economy was no longer a village but a national economy.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China was rapidly becoming a nation unified by railroads and highways and by great national universities to which students flocked from far and near. It was rapidly becoming a nation of newspaper readers and of listeners to radio broadcasts.

A nation whose intellectual and economic life is organized in that manner cannot, like a loose coalition of self-sufficient villages, submit to foreign conquest without disastrous consequences to its intellectual and moral as well as to its economic way of life. Certainly it cannot do so if its would-be conquerors have the purpose and the power, if they conquer it, to transform its entire economic system in order to exploit its resources (as modern imperialistic states know how to exploit a conquered people) for the benefit of the master race. That purpose the Japanese have already accomplished in Manchuria and Korea. With that purpose they set out in July 1937 to conquer China. They combine with that purpose another—to transform all those institutions (such as the schools, the universities and the press) which might keep alive the spirit of freedom among the conquered people. They aim to convert these tools of freedom into institutions for inculcating in the population those ideas which the conquerors desire they should have, and thus condition them mentally to regard a status of vassalage as their natural one.

Fortunately for themselves and for the world the Chinese people have understood the nature of the challenge to their way of life presented by an aggressive and totalitarian Japan. They have recognized the challenge as one not to be met by their traditional pacifist methods. Despite their lack of adequate arms they have fought and are still fighting with undiminished courage and confidence to expel the invader and preserve a free China for themselves and their descendants.

The case of India is quite similar. Here pacifism has not been characteristic of substantially the whole population, as in China, but rather of the Hindu majority only. Indian pacifism has, however, now been repudiated even by that party which had, until recently, most strongly adhered to it—the Congress party



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of which Mahatma Gandhi is the leader. For last summer that party voted that it would cooperate wholeheartedly with Great Britain in the war against fascist aggression if only Great Britain would agree to treat India as a partner voluntarily cooperating in the struggle rather than as a vassal state commanded to do so by orders issued from London. It is not because India is pacifist, but because India is still unfree and because none of the totalitarian powers has yet directly attacked her, that Indian cooperation in the present war is largely unwilling.

It is fortunate for us here in the United States that our pacifists, for all their moral earnestness, have made so little impression on our American ways of thought and feeling. Thus we do not, like so many Chinese and so many Hindus, have to unlearn a moral code and an intellectual creed wholly unsuited to the world in which we live. Some of us are, indeed, still bemusing ourselves with the notion that by reason of our ocean barriers we are outside the orbit of fascist aggression. But there are few of us so blind to the character of that aggression as to believe it can effectively be opposed by pacifist methods. A Chinese subject of a Manchu emperor could comfort himself for the foreign conquest of his nation by repeating the old Chinese saying, "the Emperor is far away." But the Czechs, the Dutch, the French and the other peoples who have been conquered by Nazi Blitzkrieg know that the Führer's Gestapo is never far from the remotest village in the conquered territory. And we in the United States are profiting by their knowledge.

The Nazis, like the Japanese, seek to destroy the economic systems of the peoples whom they conquer and to make them hewers of wood and drawers of water for the German master race. Even more than the Japanese they seek to destroy those institutions, such as the universities, the free press and the free radio, which are essential to the search for truth and to the free interchange of ideas in the modern world. Even more than the Japanese they seek not only to destroy these free institutions but to substitute for them an indoctrination of the people—of the children in the schools, of young men in the army, of older



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

men and women through skillfully directed official propaganda agencies—indoctrination with the idea that they are not free men but docile subjects of a totalitarian state. They seek to inculcate the belief that there is no such thing as scientific truth arrived at by the method of free inquiry, but only Nazi science arrived at by accepting certain State-proclaimed principles as indisputable; that there is no such thing as ethics based on liberty of conscience, but only Nazi ethics based on those moral or immoral precepts which the rulers of the State find it convenient to have the people believe in; that there is no such thing as philosophy based on freedom of the intellect, but only Nazi philosophy rigidly confined within the limits of those ideas approved by the rulers of the state; that there is no such thing as democratic political action based on the free decisions of a democratic society, arrived at after full discussion, but only party action taken by an organization whose party line is imposed on it by a Führer and the clique that surrounds him.

It is conceivable that, even if the Nazis and their totalitarian allies were permitted to conquer the world and to destroy or pervert those institutions—churches, schools, universities, books, newspapers, magazines—by which our civilization is promoted, civilization might be kept alive to a limited extent through underground channels, as Christianity was kept alive underground in the catacombs. No doubt after a long lapse of time these underground channels might, even without an armed revolt, rise to the surface in a rebirth of civilization. There is little comfort for most of us in the hope that, if we lose our freedom and are doomed to watch our children and our neighbors' children being conditioned to vassalage by schools which have been perverted into propagandist institutions, all may somehow come right again for our great-grandchildren. And the hope is in any case a flickering one. The history of mankind is as much a history of civilizations that have died completely, leaving nothing behind but a few relics for the archeologist, like the ruins of Nineveh and Angkor and the Mayan temples in Yucatan, as it is of civilizations which have been reborn in



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a new form, as the Greco-Roman civilization was reborn after the Dark Ages. And the Nazis, who have added the weapon of the "dynamic lie" to those of military force and economic pressure, are past masters in the art of destroying a civilization.

Just as their predecessors failed in their larger aim after the last war, so today those men and women may fail who in the democratic countries are trying to make this war a war to end war and to establish an international system in which adequate force will be in the hands of nations which will use it to prevent aggression. But there is no reason to despair of the ultimate success of a movement firmly based on the experience of every group which has established peace over a more limited area; for this experience demonstrates that peace can be organized if those who desire peace have sufficient force at their disposal and are ready, if necessary, to use force against those unwilling to keep the peace. And even if the present armed resistance to totalitarian aggression fails to bring about permanent and world-wide peace, only through such resistance can the civilization we Americans cherish be preserved. That civilization is based upon the democratic belief in the worth of the individual citizen, without regard to his race, his creed or his economic class. It is based upon what we call civil liberty—by which we mean primarily the freedom of each of us to seek the truth and, when he has found what he believes to be the truth, to communicate it to his fellows without fear of punishment. It is a civilization which protects our pacifists and safeguards their right to express their pacifist ideas. But it is a civilization that can and will endure only because the overwhelming majority of its citizens reject the pacifist thesis and are prepared, if need be, to defend it by force of arms.

"*Ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem.*" It is as true now as it was when the men of Massachusetts, their independence not yet safely won, placed these words underneath the shield of their new Commonwealth, that there are times when the only way whereby the peace of a free people can be made secure is the way of the sword.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Hospital Beds: Sociological Problem

BERTRAM M. BERNHEIM

"Is the problem of furnishing hospital beds one of inadequate room or a bad apportionment between city and country, paying and non-paying patients; how many beds are enough?"

WHEN THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR asked me to discuss the above question my first impulse was to decline with thanks. One of my colleagues put it aptly when he said he would rather discuss the fellow *in* the bed. Furthermore I could not presume to set myself up as an expert on the hospital-bed problem. With so many other phases of medicine urgently pressing for consideration and solution I wondered how such a choice of subject happened to be made.

But the question would not leave my mind and all my subconscious efforts to answer it went to naught. Try as I would the formula would not come and I soon found that for my own peace of mind I had to make a go at it—regardless. Then it occurred to me that the layman might derive more enlightenment from a simple, untechnical analysis such as an ordinary doctor would give than from one replete with figures and charts furnished by an expert. Not that the expert is to be lightly held, but that in the realm of medicine cold figures cannot be allowed too much weight because of the imponderable element of human values.

Let us take, for example, that part of the question dealing with the total number of beds required. The expert could figure that out to his own satisfaction but not to mine. Based on the total population, the total beds now in existence, the number of patients and a host of other things like the acute and chronically ill, the insane and so on he could draw up a set of figures



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that might very well make sense were it not that nothing of a rigid nature makes sense when one is eternally confronted with the unpredictable. When hospital beds are overflowing at one moment and hardly half filled at another how can figures be taken seriously?

Nor is it purely a question of epidemics. Other features confuse the picture, features of recent origin such as the increasing trek of the sick away from their homes to the hospital—of their own accord, in part, but aided and abetted to no inconsiderable degree by the newer schemes of hospitalization by insurance. Does anyone know what proportions that will reach?

And who can tell what difference, if any, scientific advances will make in the number of hospital beds required? Suppose the crusade against syphilis were to be truly successful and that that dread disease were brought under control. Wouldn't there be far less insanity? Isn't the shock treatment of insanity meeting with increased success, thus shortening the stay of many patients in the hospital and lessening the number of beds required? And suppose infantile paralysis were wiped out, as well it may be, would as many hospital beds for reconstruction be needed? One should see these things in their true light. Look at what the sulfa drugs, more especially sulfapyridine, have done in pneumonia. Not only has the mortality been cut in half, or more than halved; the hospital stay has been much shortened. Let no one be deluded. Science is on the march and disease is in retreat. Not for one moment do I even think of raising false hopes by predicting the early defeat of such things as influenza and cancer, but that they will ultimately fall there can be no doubt. Mention might be made, also, of the effect of preventive medicine in general, for the future will see ever-increasing pressure in this direction.

So I dismiss consideration of "how many beds are enough" as something to be decided by the time-worn system of trial and error, with emphasis on error. The problem is much like that faced by municipal fire departments. Hardly occupied much of the time, quite busy at others and even hard pressed, they



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

do very well until a catastrophic conflagration comes along. Does anyone suggest that they even try to prepare for that eventuality?

More important at the moment is the other part of the question, for that bears directly on a problem which appears to be simple but is not. More acute and pressing in some parts of the country than in others, owing to various things like the terrain, good roads, distances to metropolitan centers, wealth, the character of the population and so on, the question is not exclusively one of inadequate room, bad apportionment between city and country or, indeed, of beds. The problem goes much deeper than that and involves a consideration of causes and effects together with the added and exceedingly perplexing problem of the distribution of doctors.

Then there is the other side of the picture—the matter of economic stress, more acute now than ever because of hard times. People are unable to pay for their hospitalization to the same extent as formerly and hospitals cannot exist without money. Private philanthropy, charity organizations, municipalities and the federal government help; but it can readily be seen that inadequate room and bad apportionment are by no means the only factors involved in hospitalization of the sick. No room there may be for the poor soul of the back alley who cannot pay for his bed but plenty for the man who can, whether he lives in the city or the country.

I don't believe there is much relation between the number of hospital beds in the great metropolitan centers and the number in the country. Some there probably is; but, generally speaking, hospitals have been erected in large cities principally because it was thought there was need for them there, and only remotely to accommodate the sick of the surrounding districts. Not so is the case in smaller towns and county seats where one sees hospitals put up for the express purpose of caring for country folk—but how few they are in the aggregate and how inadequate for the masses! Instead of viewing this matter as one of cold figures which may be safely left to statisticians one



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

must view it in its broadest aspects and try to think the thing through as a sociological problem. To the average mind figures are confusing; and since every man who uses them has a different set and juggles them to suit his purpose they do more harm than good in the average discourse.

There are not more beds in cities *because* there are so few in the country. Moreover, if more hospital beds were provided in rural districts—as they undoubtedly will be—there is no reason to suppose either that fewer city beds will be occupied or that they will diminish appreciably in number. Their number might shrink if a flock of hospitals were suddenly put up in country districts—but that is a most unlikely prospect. It is more to the point that a far greater proportion of city people than of country people are hospitalized—both rich and poor but chiefly the poor. Various reasons are assigned for this—among them the custom country folk have of standing more than others before calling a doctor, their habit of nursing each other at home and their reluctance to seek hospitalization unless and until they are desperately ill. There is also the question of money. Inasmuch as hospitals in rural districts have little or no endowment and receive little income from local government funds they depend for their support chiefly on money received from pay patients and have few free beds for indigent country folk. Over and over again, therefore, the problem of beds is not so much a question of inadequate room as it is of inadequate funds. Families and friends of the patients can't raise the money, state funds aren't available, no agencies come to the rescue; consequently the poor souls do without—more is the pity.

Call that bad apportionment, no apportionment, or what you will, it is a fact and, to my way of thinking, is the result of a process of natural development. For that reason I say this problem goes deep and necessitates consideration from many different angles—not the least of them the fact that the medical structure of this country just grew. Only within recent times has there been any real planning. And even at that, nothing of a comprehensive nature has been ventured. How long it will



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be before something nationwide is initiated is a question of pure surmise, but very obviously nothing much will be accomplished until a program of nationwide scope is launched.

From the very beginning doctors settled in the most thickly populated districts because that was where they were most needed and because that was where they could most easily make a living. Medical schools and hospitals followed in logical order and more than ever chained the medical men to the cities. More than that, the advantages offered, professionally, culturally and economically, attracted the best of the younger men. Consequently the rural districts got—and still get—chiefly men of lesser attainments and little ambition.

However unfortunate this is, it is a fact and though the medical profession knows all about it the general public does not. On the contrary the general public has been lulled into a false sense of security by the fulsome praise heaped upon the "old country practitioner." Nor am I the one to decry his efforts. Practicing alone, doing everything, working hard; a man generous, self-sacrificing and poor; he has become an American Institution. Only, alas, like a good many other Institutions—both American and non-American—he is fast outliving his usefulness and the march of progress is about to leave him only as a monument that marks an earlier era.

The medical needs of rural districts can no longer be met by the country practitioner. A whole new set-up is urgently required, and for that purpose young and vigorous, well-trained, ambitious doctors are needed and lots of them. The medical profession knows this but hesitates to enlighten the public completely because no comprehensive plan has yet been evolved for drawing the desired men out of the cities and into the rural districts. Instead of taking the sane, practical view of the problem, which is chiefly one of dollars and cents, and admitting that some sort of subsidy or guarantee is the only bait the men will take, organized medicine stalls and "kids" itself into believing the answer lies in the government's new plan for dotting hospitals throughout the country districts.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Walls and rooms and beds and equipment do not make hospitals. Men make hospitals; and however diligently one may search the rural districts for master surgeons, skilled diagnosticians, bacteriologists, pathologists, X-ray men, laboratory technicians, nurses and all the other adjuncts necessary and of the proper calibre to man the modern hospital they will not be found. What is the sense in going ahead with the hospital program without providing for an adequate personnel; and why delude oneself into believing either that the medical profession in the rural districts could properly staff the new hospitals or that young men would be attracted to rural districts simply because the hospitals are there? Some would be so attracted, of course, but only the most venturesome and the least desirable.

The crux of this problem is doctors, more especially their proper distribution; and not until realistic steps are taken to solve that difficulty will real progress be made. This will take time, money and a different order of thinking on the part of the medical profession, the public in general and the government—state and federal—but the issue must be faced and the sooner the better for all concerned. When a young man spends at least eight years to get his medical degree and an additional year as an interne in a hospital (most states now demand at least a year's interneship and all of them will shortly) he will not, unless he has to, settle in a rural district where he will barely eke out a living. A highly-trained man, usually married, used to city life and knowing well all the advantages it has to offer, he hesitates to spend his life and to raise a family amid circumstances where professional and cultural advantages, to say nothing of the economic, are so meagre.

I have spoken to dozens of young men only to be told the same story. I have seen them take the plunge only to return, disillusioned, to the city—to a life of dissatisfaction, frustration, even starvation, but preferable by their own accounts. Their city-bred wives, used to amusement and social activities, became lonesome and dissatisfied in the country; the schools were not good enough for their children and were too far away;



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

medical meetings were few and poor and so were libraries. These men felt they were losing touch with the new developments and better men in medicine; that money was too scarce and too hard to earn; that they had to do everything; that hospital facilities were scant and totally inadequate; that patients objected to being hospitalized—in short that the game was not worth the candle.

In certain definite instances the men had not given the experiment sufficient time; in others they were not the type. Above all they were spoilt. I cannot but feel, however, that our very civilization and system of education unfit a man, more especially a doctor, for the simple life. Taught, really, by a group of highly trained specialists who unconsciously imbue him with the idea of specialization in one or the other branches of medicine, how could it be otherwise? Furthermore, with general migration admittedly *from* the country *to* the city,[1] we are asking the doctor to swim against the tide when we urge him to go out into the rural districts. And isn't it a bit thick to ask that of the doctor and of no one else?

But people in the rural districts must have doctors and they must have hospitals. Furthermore, the hospitals must be situated in their midst. It is both antiquated and cruel to expect country people to depend for their hospitalization on cities and towns miles and miles away. Although the newer means of communication and transportation have shortened distances vastly they are still too great—and they must, in the nature of things, remain so. The wonder is not that country folk are so hesitant to seek hospitalization but that they seek it so much as they do.

Human values, human reactions, rank high in the equation of the sick and their handling. Let no one overlook this fact lest his efforts avail little. The loneliness of hospitalization in a distant town, without the comfort of someone near and dear close by, is a deterrent of no small proportions—as those who have spent their lives in tending the sick can testify. But more than that, or possibly added to it, the individual of the rural districts

[1] The recent census seems to indicate a halt in this tendency.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

suffers a strange, uncomfortable feeling when he is taken out of his own environment.

How, then, is the problem to be solved? Several different methods suggest themselves, and in all probability the eventual solution will represent a combination of them.

1. We may do nothing, leaving nature to take her course and depending on time and better medical education to give rural districts not only better doctors but doctors capable of manning and maintaining modern hospitals. That might work, but in any case progress will be slow and it is a gamble I think it unwise to take.

2. We can erect hospitals immediately—as per recent governmental suggestion—and see what happens. To those who believe the local profession can and will rise to the occasion I would reply that they are supreme optimists with little to back them up.

3. We can experiment with group practice on a wider scale. Large groups of doctors headed by men, both business and professional, who know where they are going and what they want, might invade, as it were, the country districts, setting up offices and building their own hospitals wherever needed. They might use existing hospitals or persuade local people or agencies or the government to erect additional ones. With a staff of high-grade men, a central office, and local branches everywhere, they could do business at wholesale rates (so much per month per family, and a small amount at that); they would have tens of thousands of enrollees and would give complete medical coverage, including hospitalization, at a figure well within the means of almost everyone. It would, of course, take time, money, thought and planning to bring such a system into being. Furthermore it would compete with and probably put out of business many local practitioners. But it is a modern method of distributing medical coverage—in certain parts of the country it is having a great vogue and is being increasingly successful—and in future days we shall probably see its extensive development.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

4. We can work out some cooperative plan under which the people of definite areas will organize and operate their own medical services—with or without governmental aid.

5. We can provide some form of health insurance that will give medical coverage and hospitalization.

6. We can establish strategically-located, small medical centers staffed by high-grade specialists attached to them on a full-time salary basis or on part-time with subsidy until they can support themselves through private practice. Through the creation of such centers the desired distribution of doctors might take place; for these centers would provide an assured living, facilities of all kinds (such as libraries, laboratories, etc.) and a place where trained doctors could have contact with equally trained doctors. Wives would be less lonely, because not only medical stimulus but cultural advantages of all kinds would be available.

All centers would have the minimum staff and equipment; but depending on population and general conditions some would be more important than others, have bigger hospitals, cover more specialties, employ more men. In the nature of things some transfer of patients would be necessary.

To encourage doctors a system of advancement from smaller, less important, to larger, more important centers would be instituted. The government would put up the hospitals and, with local assistance and such aid as paying patients contribute, would support the centers and pay the doctors' salaries. All hospitals would be available—that is open—to properly qualified local men, whether individual practitioners or members of groups, and regardless of whether they are engaged in surgery, medicine or special work.

If this scheme envisages the practical doom of the country practitioner it has the two-fold merit of solving the vexing problem of the distribution of doctors while at the same time (and as a direct result) giving a vast number of neglected and ill-considered people a type of medicine and a degree of hospitalization equal in every respect to that available to people



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

living in metropolitan centers. One may regret the passing of something that has been fine; but modern medicine has grown to such proportions it is no longer possible for the individual, however erudite, however willing, however hard and long he may work, even to approach giving adequate medical coverage if he practices alone. If that is true now it will be more true in the very near future. The greatest good to the greatest number must be the watchword; and the greatest number must not be endangered or sacrificed in a vain effort to retain something that time and the general advance have outmoded.

To those who may object that the medical center smacks too much of socialized medicine I would say, "Show me any other method of achieving the same ends so promptly and logically. Show me how, without the guarantee of a living, you can get well-trained, ambitious, alert medical men to settle in rural districts in numbers sufficient to do the job."

Some will maintain that such a procedure goes against the grain and ought not to be necessary; that doctors should be above such material considerations; that the ideals of the profession must suffer thereby. To them the answer must be made that the youth of today, regardless of his economic background, takes a more realistic view of life than his forebears did; that he is less patient and, if we gauge idealism by the old standards, possibly less idealistic. With his future uncertain, with the world in turmoil and a new order not only unknown but unfathomable in the making, the young man feels his generation has had rough going (in part, if not entirely, because of the older generation's faults and misdemeanors); and in so far as possible he intends to get all he can out of life at the least cost and with the least effort.

It is just as well that we see this thing clearly and act accordingly. It is also just as well that we change some of our own ideas. Why a man's desire for a place in the sun, why his demand that he be guaranteed a living for going out into country districts to do a job requiring talents of a high order (so high,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in fact, that up to date it has been impossible to persuade men to do it)—why that very natural demand should be incompatible with the very highest of ideals I cannot see. It is just another one of our "old Spanish customs" we cannot seem to rid ourselves of.

Why, too, we should hesitate to set up an obvious system because it requires government money I also cannot see. Partnership with the government, some governmental control, it certainly means; but so long as an enlightened medical leadership prevails, I deny that the government could, or would even attempt, to take full charge. If there were any other agency capable of and willing to pay the cost I should be the first to advocate calling upon it for aid; but in the absence of such an agency, and being of the opinion that the needs of the people are such that they can no longer be denied, I am not only in favor of utilizing all the assistance, financial and otherwise, the government—local, state and federal—has to offer but suggest that, like the financiers and the business man, we give up our fears and learn how to work amicably with our government.

Only superficially is the problem of furnishing hospital beds a matter of inadequate room and/or a bad apportionment between city and country. Its roots go far deeper than that and involve a consideration of financial, social and economic problems to say nothing of medicine and medical education. The distribution of doctors is central to it. And a new and far different order from that now obtaining in metropolitan centers must be instituted if a long-suffering country folk are ever to have the medical care they so richly deserve.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Vigny and Housman

## A Study in Pessimism

ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

ANY attempt to explain the extraordinary hold of pessimism on contemporary literature leads us almost at once to the World War. But after we have said all the obvious things about the tragic waste of life, the ineptitude of politicians and the breakdown of democracy, all of which would naturally engender a feeling of the futility of effort, the fact remains that a philosophy of pessimism had established itself in English literature long before the murders of Sarajevo. It was all very well for Chesterton to maintain that pessimism was "a thing unfit for a white man, a thing like opium that may often be a poison and sometimes a medicine but never a food"; the reading public did not agree with him. The "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world" spirit had made very few converts and though the "*weltschmerz*" of Byron was almost as much out of fashion as the buoyant optimism of Browning, its place had been taken by the more astringent pessimism of A. E. Housman.

In the 19th century there seem to have been two poets, and only two, whose pessimism was the result of a definite philosophy—Alfred de Vigny and A. E. Housman. I do not include Hardy because, though he certainly plunged deeper into tragedy than either Vigny or Housman, he was not literally speaking a pessimist at all. Pessimism is not the denial of significance in the ordering of the universe but the assertion of evil significance, and that assertion Hardy is careful to avoid. He never suggests as Shakespeare sometimes does, particularly in *King Lear*, that as flies are to wanton boys, so are we to the gods—"They kill us for their sport." It may perhaps be urged



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that Leopardi was a greater poet and a more devastating pessimist than either Vigny or Housman, but his pessimism was not a matter of choice. Granted his hypersensitive nature and the circumstances of his life, it was almost inevitable. He was cursed with perpetual ill-health and a bodily deformity which he could never forget. "The man of imagination, of sentiment and of enthusiasm, who is deprived of physical beauty," wrote Leopardi toward the end of his life, "feels immediately and continually that all that is beautiful, all that he admires and sees and loves, does not belong to him." Furthermore he was deeply affected by what he considered the degradation of his country. When he wrote to his sister that she must needs bear children to be unhappy or cowardly and that he hoped they would be unhappy, he was thinking of the Austrian domination rather than of the malignity of fate.

A more tragic life than Leopardi's it is impossible to conceive. No doubt Vigny and Housman had reasons for their pessimism, but they were not reasons like Leopardi's that the rest of the world recognizes at once as conclusive. With them pessimism was a considered philosophy rather than an instinctive reaction to the fell clutch of circumstance. They were neither of them hopeless invalids; they were not financially dependent on fathers whom they despised, as Leopardi was, nor were they continually yearning for a political liberty they could do nothing to achieve. On the contrary they were both blessed with an attractive physique, though not rich they were financially independent, and they were more than usually fortunate in the affection of friends and the admiration of their colleagues—things that usually make for great happiness.

In spite of it all, Vigny and Housman were what might be called irreconcilable pessimists. What is the value of their pessimism, or indeed of any pessimism, and why does it attract us? From one point of view the position of a pessimist is utterly absurd. If it is false to say that all's right with the world it is at least equally false to say that all's wrong. Housman was regarded by his friends as a clubbable rather than a morose man



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but in his poetry he is forever insisting that everything is for the worst in this worst of all possible worlds. A casual glance through the 152 short poems he has left us reveals a strange universe in which the existence of kindliness, of love, or of justice is emphatically denied.

The troubles of our proud and angry dust
Are from eternity, and shall not fail.

Whatever brute and blackguard made the world.

His folly has not fellow
Beneath the blue of day
That gives to man or woman
His heart and soul away.

Who made the world I cannot tell;
'Tis made, and here am I in hell.
My hand, though now my knuckles bleed,
I never soiled with such a deed.

And how am I to face the odds
Of man's bedevilment and God's?
I, a stranger and afraid
In a world I never made.

Ay, look: high heaven and earth ail from the prime foundation;
All thoughts to rive the heart are here, and all are vain;
Horror and scorn and hate and fear and indignation—
Oh why did I awake? When shall I sleep again?

When we turn to Alfred de Vigny we find in his poetry as well as in his private journal the same frank acceptance of a cynical God and a bestial world.

Car la Femme est un être impur de corps et d'âme.

Gémir, pleurer, prier, est également lâche.
Fais energiquement ta longue et lourde tâche
Dans la voie ou le Sort a voulu t'appeler,
Puis, après, comme moi, souffre et meurs sans parler.

Seul le silence est grand; tout le reste est faiblesse.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

La Gloire a dit: "Fils de douleur,
Où veux-tu que je te conduise?
Tremble; si je t'immortalise,
J'immortalise le Malheur."

Oh! dans quel désespoir nous sommes encor tous!
Vous avez élargi le COLLIER qui nous lie,
Mais qui donc tient la chaîne?—Ah! Dieu Juste, est-ce vous?

L'espérance est la plus grande de nos folies.

Dans cette prison nommée la vie, d'où nous partons les autres pour aller à la mort il ne faut compter sur aucune promenade, ni aucune fleur.

La vérité sur la vie, c'est le désespoir.

And yet out of this attitude towards life that most of us would find intolerable Vigny and Housman have made poetry that the world has found extraordinarily satisfying. The paradox is not easily explained. The easiest answer is the one word, style. Is not style the salt that preserves all great literature from oblivion? Certainly Housman would not be so universally admired by old and young, scholar and layman, radical and conservative, if it were not for his marvelous economy of phrase. There is not a single stanza in the *Shropshire Lad* or the *Last Poems* that carries an ounce of spare flesh. But if his simplicity, his restraint, his utter freedom from the wilful obscurity that places so much of contemporary verse beyond the range of the average reader, endear him to the older generation his intensity, his refusal to compromise with life, endear him no less surely to youth. In no art, least of all in poetry, can the matter be distinguished from the manner. To say that the charm of Housman lies in the chiselled perfection of his style is not to deny the virtue of what he says. And there certainly is a virtue, an invigorating quality, in what Housman says that cannot be separated from his pessimism. No one has felt, or expressed more poignantly, the loveliness of the English countryside.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Loveliest of trees, the cherry now
Is hung with bloom along the bough,
And stands about the woodland ride
Wearing white for Eastertide.

That in itself is life-giving and yet it is very sad. Beauty vanishes; beauty passes. The glorious but ephemeral beauty of the world and the ugly finality of death are forever jostling each other in Housman's verses. This yearning for permanence is certainly not peculiar to Housman—from the beginning of time poets have urged us to gather rosebuds while we may—but it is very seldom that a pessimist has derived such solid satisfaction from the beauty whose transiency he deplored. Even if it is true, as one commentator has said, that he considered nature as a beautiful décor for the ugly and unintelligible ballet of life, still, however dull the ballet, if it has a beautiful décor it cannot be said to be wholly bad.

The changing seasons may make us wistful, but man would seem to have a very frail case against the Almighty if it is to be founded entirely on the fact that the earth revolves about the sun. Unfortunately, man has more real grounds for bitterness and Housman knows it.

As I gird on for fighting
My sword upon my thigh,
I think on old ill fortunes
Of better men than I.

Think I, the round world over,
What golden lads are low
With hurts not mine to mourn for
And shames I shall not know.

What evil luck soever
For me remains in store,
'Tis sure much finer fellows
Have fared much worse before.

So here are things to think on
That ought to make me brave,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

As I strap on for fighting
My sword that will not save.

Here we see Housman at his best. There is a tonic quality about such pessimism to which optimism rarely attains. In the end we shall fail; but there is no doubt in Housman's mind that a life of action even though it culminates in failure is nobler than a life of ease. At any rate there is no hint of discouragement or weakness in this poetry. In the somber "Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries" Housman does not attempt to disguise his admiration for those who "took their wages and are dead." The future may hold nothing for us but vanity or oblivion and yet the insistent appeal of self-abnegation will not be denied.

Somehow the great pessimists contrive to make us feel that in spite of an indifferent world and a malignant deity one way of life is better than another. Like Housman, Vigny can gaze into the abyss without flinching and he derives the same bitter satisfaction from the contemplation of ultimate defeat. In one sense Alfred de Vigny's view of life is even more tragic than Housman's because Vigny took no delight in the physical world. He could never conceive of nature except as something to be avoided or to be overcome.

Ne me laisse jamais seul avec la Nature
Car je la connais trop pour n'en pas avoir peur.

Other men might glory in the rich fecundity of Nature but not Vigny. He sees only the reverse side of the picture:

On me dit une mère et je suis une tombe.

One of the reasons why Vigny admired England, and a very strange reason it seems though perhaps less strange a hundred years ago than it would be today, was that wherever he went in England he was aware of the hand of man. *Tant mieux. Partout ailleurs, la nature stupide nous insulte assez.* Could anything be more diametrically opposed to the approved tenets of romanticism? Byron thought himself insulted by society; Shelley felt insulted by the Lord Chancellor; Keats by the *Quarterly Review*, but it would never have occurred to any of them



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that a man could be insulted by nature. On the contrary it was the solitude of nature that they sought when contact with their fellow human beings became intolerable. Obviously Vigny's pessimism is a very different thing from the tender romantic melancholy of a Byron or a Shelley. Never once does he suggest as Shelley does that he

> Could lie down like a tired child,
> And weep away the life of care. . . .

He is not discouraged as they are by any inability to adjust himself to the world. His pessimism was born of observation and calm reflection, in the course of which the elements of good and evil had received due recognition and the evil had been found to preponderate over the good.

The enigma of unmerited suffering—it was that more than anything else that preyed on Vigny and made him a pessimist. He was disgusted by the spectacle of the ungodly flourishing like a green bay tree while the Almighty visited suffering upon the weak and defenseless. And yet in his darkest moments he never denied God nor did he take refuge in the petulant blasphemy some of the later romantics seem to have found comforting. That he was himself a victim of fate naturally intensified his bitterness but the sorrow that found its way into his verse was like Housman's "not mine but man's." As a boy he had yearned for military glory but he was born just too late to go thundering across the Rhine with Napoleon's marshals. He was seventeen when Napoleon abdicated, and his family, only too glad to see the last of the Emperor, were delighted when they managed to get a commission for their son in the bodyguard of Louis XVIII. Vigny's military career was the first disappointment of his life. After escorting the King to the frontier, carefully watched all the way by Napoleon's lancers, the royal escort fell back to Amiens where it was interned until after the battle of Waterloo. That was Alfred de Vigny's first and only experience of active service. He did not resign from the army until 1827 but during those twelve years he came to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

know only too well the sterility of garrison life. Gradually it dawned on him that the selflessness demanded by military discipline, noble as it was when seen through the rosy haze of Napoleonic victories, was not quite so noble in time of peace. It was not long before the tinsel of army life began to tarnish. Vigny felt frustrated, unable to find any outlet for his energies, as if he were shut up in a wooden horse that would never open on any Troy.

The next great disappointment was his marriage. His wife, a pleasant unimaginative Englishwoman who became an invalid shortly after they were married, proved quite incapable of the intellectual companionship he craved. Still more disillusioning was his liaison with the notorious Marie Dorval whose flagrant infidelities made him the laughing-stock of Paris. Whichever way he turned, happiness eluded him.

In "Le Mont des Oliviers" Vigny's pessimism emerges clearly for the first time as a direct result of his inability to accept Christianity. He is appalled by God's indifference. Throughout the agony in the garden it is unmistakably Vigny himself rather than Christ who is speaking, and Vigny does not hesitate to embroider the Gospel story to suit his purpose. Christ is made to beg God to leave two angels in the world, "*La Certitude Heureuse*" and "*L'Espoir Confiant*" in exchange for his death. So far God has only allowed him to raise, but not remove, the cloak of misery in which mankind is wrapped. One corner of the cloak is held by Doubt and the other by Evil. Why has the Father created these two monsters and why will He not authorize His Son to destroy them? To these requests God vouchsafes no answer. Christ's plea for pity meets with inscrutable silence. Then let man, concludes Vigny, meet the callous indifference of his Maker with an equally inscrutable silence. Stoicism is his only refuge.

> S'il est vrai qu'au Jardin sacré des Ecritures,
> Le Fils de l'homme ait dit ce qu'on voit rapporté;
> Muet, aveugle et sourd au cri des créatures,
> Si le Ciel nous laissa comme un monde avorté,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Le juste opposera le dédain à l'absence
Et ne répondra plus que par un froid silence
Au silence éternel de la divinité.

Only slightly different in feeling and no less poignant is Housman's "Easter Hymn" with which *More Poems* opens:

If in that Syrian garden, ages slain,
You sleep, and know not you are dead in vain,
Nor even in dreams behold how dark and bright
Ascends in smoke and fire by day and night
The hate you died to quench and could but fan,
Sleep well and see no morning, son of man.

To go through life without hope and without fear, to evolve a certain code of action for oneself without expecting any reward, human or divine, other than one's own self-respect—that is what the denial of Christianity necessitates, and in the long run it is inseparable from pessimism. Housman's philosophy of despair is founded on the same assumptions:

Courage, lad, 'tis not for long:
Stand, quit you like stone, be strong.

It is true that Housman occasionally loses his temper with God whereas Vigny would never allow himself to appear so ridiculous, but in one of the last poems that he wrote, "For My Funeral," Housman reverts to a more dignified attitude. He even admits in this poem that God is calling him home, an implication of tenderness that had never escaped him before.

Vigny's reserve, which is far more consistent than Housman's, owes something at least to the numerous disillusionments which he as a member of the aristocracy was compelled to undergo. It must have been a great blow to anyone, brought up as he was to respect the Crown, to watch the monarchy fumble away its prestige after being so carefully put back on its pedestal. He would willingly have fought to keep Charles X on the throne but how could you fight for a king who deserted his own supporters. The monarchy collapsed through its curious inability to rally to its support the very class that was longing



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to serve it, and the aristocracy itself "*cette race morte socialement depuis 1789*," proved equally incapable of adapting itself to the new world Napoleon had called into being. The compromise regime of Louis Philippe alienated Vigny no less than the regular monarchy. Indeed the complacent materialism of the bourgeois monarchy was actually more offensive to him than the blind conservatism of the Bourbons. Vigny's contempt for his rulers and his indifference to the democratic aspiration of his day finds more expression in his prose than in his poetry, but his philosophic poems contain more than a hint of his hatred of politicians:

> Leur discours passagers flattent avec étude
> La foule qui les presse et qui leur bat des mains. . . .

It seemed to Vigny lamentable that any self-respecting man should lend himself to the cheap successes of political oratory. No one ever had a more exalted conception of the dignity of the poet's role, and the idea of descending into the political arena like Lamartine and pleading for votes utterly revolted him. Vigny could no more subscribe to the sovereignty of the people than to the divine right of kings. While everyone else was flinging his cap for the monarchy or for the republic he stood aside waiting patiently for some recognition on the part of the public of the things that he admired.

> Et pourquoi nul sentier entre deux larges voies,
> Entre l'ennui du calme et des paisible joies
> Et la rage sans fin des vagues passions,
> Entre la léthargie et les convulsions;
>
> "Le Mont des Oliviers"

Matthew Arnold[1] echoes the same thought:

> Is there no life, but these alone?
> Madman or slave, must man be one?
>
> "A Summer Night"

More than anything else Vigny admired what he called "*l'esprit*

[1] Matthew Arnold was a consistent reader of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in which "Le Mont des Oliviers" first appeared. The parallel between these two passages has already been noted by Mrs. I. E. Sells in her book, *Matthew Arnold and France*, Cambridge, 1933.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*pur*," "*l'idéal du poete et des graves penseurs*," and the failure of aristocracy to maintain its position saddened him because the only alternative to aristocracy that he could envisage was a materialistic society in which the doctors would be gods and the bankers, kings. He dreamed of a Utopia in which poets and philosophers were the accepted leaders of the nation rather than politicians. Unfortunately a triumphant democracy was no more likely than were the members of his own class to bow low before the achievements of the intellect.

His reasons for pessimism then were more complicated than Housman's because they sprang from without as well as from within. Spiritually and intellectually they were both convinced that the Almighty was not only a jealous God but a heartless and an indifferent God. That in itself was sufficient cause for pessimism, but Vigny was still further distressed by what seemed to him the disastrous condition of his country. He was a sincere patriot, deeply sensitive for the good name of France. Today patriotism is regarded by the intellectuals as rather a bourgeois virtue, if it is a virtue at all, but Vigny was one of those increasingly rare spirits who feel the misfortunes of their country just as keenly as they do their own. This sensitiveness over national affairs is reflected in his philosophic poems. Housman found his inspiration in more narrowly personal themes. Except for the "Epitaph on an Army of Mercenaries" and a few references to the South African War we are never aware in reading him of England's trials and tribulations. The sorrows are always his own. Yet out of these sorrows Housman no less than Vigny contrives to produce poetry that is invigorating rather than depressing. How is it that these two men make us feel that though the cards may be stacked against us life is still supremely worth living? The answer would seem to be that pessimism implies a moral courage that has never yet been fully recognized. If we respect a soldier who goes on fighting against hopeless odds, even when he knows there is no chance of rescue, surely we must respect a philosopher who dares to contemplate a complete absence



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of harmony between the wishes of mankind and the order of the universe, and yet will not surrender to his baser instincts. Nothing could be more magnificently pessimistic than Garibaldi's speech to his men when his defense of Rome had proved fruitless, and the question was whether to make terms with the Austrians or to follow him. "Let those who wish to continue the War against the stranger come with me. I offer neither pay nor quarters nor provisions. I offer hunger, thirst, forced marches, battles and death."

It is only when we have decided that life is bad, hopelessly bad, that we begin to exercise our ingenuity to devise means of overcoming the powers of evil surging around us. It is invariably the pessimists who dwell in what Housman calls "the roaring wood of dreams." Optimism, the conviction that everything is arranged for the best, rarely brings the highest faculties into play.

Acceptance of defeat does not necessarily imply an attitude of Oriental passivity. Vigny may have been affected during the last years of his life by Buddhist doctrines but his insistence on the freedom of the will is diametrically opposed to the idea of Kismet. As a young man he wrote in his journal:

> Dieu a jeté—c'est ma croyance—la terre au milieu de l'air et de même l'homme au milieu de la destinée. La destinée l'enveloppe et l'emporte vers le but toujours voilé. Le vulgaire est entraîné, les grands caractères sont ceux qui luttent.

Again twenty years later:

> Je pense que la Destinée dirige une moitié de la vie de chaque homme et son caractère l'autre moitié.

Housman is equally convinced that we are capable of bearing our burdens. "Bear them we can, and if we can we must." There is no suggestion of surrender in either of these poets. Indeed the more we study them the more certain we shall become that for those of us at any rate who live comfortable lives pessimism as they interpret it is a splendid tonic. Housman has sometimes been accused of leading us up a blind alley and there abandon-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing us to our despair, but surely that is a very superficial view of his philosophy.

> More than I, if truth were told,
> Have stood and sweated hot and cold,
> And through their veins in ice and fire
> Fear contended with desire.

Or

> The realm I look upon and die
> Another man will own;
> He shall attain the heaven that I
> Perish and have not known.

The man who wrote such lines as these, and his poetry is full of them, is actually preaching the soundest morality. Never before in the history of the world has mankind taken its misfortunes and its tragedies so personally. The cynical poetry produced by the World War is today almost unreadable because the War is invariably treated in this poetry not as a great cataclysm but as a personal affront. Pacifism has made so little headway in the world partly because it ignores the nobility of sacrifice and concentrates all its fury on the horror of suffering. But Vigny insists *J'aime la majesté des souffrances humaines* and before dismissing him as a sadist let us see what he means. He means surely that the dignity of human nature, the capacity of mankind to endure suffering, excites his wonder and his admiration. Not for a moment does he think, as so many people do today, that suffering is something unseemly, to be bustled out of sight on every possible occasion. Today apparently we must not wear mourning any longer because that might make people uncomfortable. Immediately after we have lost our dearest friend we must frequent the gayest restaurants to prove how brave and resilient we are. No wonder that pessimism is popular if that is the alternative.

Je pense qu'il y a des cas où la dissipation est coupable. Il est mal et lâche de chercher à se distraire d'une noble douleur pour ne pas souffrir autant. Il faut y réfléchir et s'enferrer courageusement dans cette épée.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Such pessimism is inseparable from honesty and moral courage, and that is why authors like Vigny and Housman will always command our attention. Temperamentally there were many differences between them. Housman was a misogynist whereas Vigny enjoyed the society of women. Vigny found little consolation in the "*splendeurs vaines*" of a "*froide nature*" whereas Housman's almost physical pleasure in the "coloured counties," the "thymy wold" and the "glittering pastures" has endeared him to hundreds of readers who care nothing for his philosophy of pessimism. Vigny was not a great scholar as Housman was, nor would he have been able to understand Housman's delight in excoriating his fellow scholars. The intellectual life that Vigny enjoyed would probably have seemed to Housman utterly lacking in precision or direction.

And yet the similarities between the two men are more striking than their differences. They were both pessimists in that they felt man's ultimate refuge lay in himself and in his own endeavors rather than in some unknown God. That belief requires titanic self-confidence and even at its best it can never make for happiness or peace of mind. Vigny and Housman paid the price for their pessimism. They were both unhappy men, and anyone who believes as they did cannot hope to be otherwise, but they knew how to face their sorrows without flinching and without being turned into stone. If it is true, as Dr. Johnson says, that one of the functions of literature is to enable us better to endure life, then the considered pessimism of Vigny and Housman is amply justified. More than most men, whatever be their profession of faith, they have taught us to endure life even at its worst. Incidentally they have revealed to us, as few optimists have succeeded in revealing, the dignity of human nature and the radiant loveliness of the universe.

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR acknowledges with appreciation Henry Holt and Company's permission to quote from its volumes, *The Shropshire Lad* and *Last Poems*; and a similar permission from the Estate of A. E. Housman and the publisher of *More Poems*.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# International Language and National Cultures

ALBERT GUÉRARD

MOST of our thinking is automatic response. Mention "international languages" and the inevitable result is a superior smile. Esperantists and their kind belong with those earnest creatures who are eager to redeem the world through a diet of raw carrots or by dividing the solar year into ten months of ten days each. We assert our invincible sanity by dismissing the matter with a shrug.

Great are the merits of unthinking; life would be an intolerable burden if we had to ponder at every step. But if there is fumbling and stumbling there is also a strenuous joy when we leave automatism behind. We may discover that the world beyond the safe confines of the commonplace has a logic and a promise of its own. Not all cranks are prophets and pioneers; but not all conformists are in possession of eternal wisdom. A few ideas have come to life since Adam delved and Eve span.

If we vault over the stockade of our prejudices three elementary facts about the international language problem will at once become evident. The first is that interest in the question is not limited to half-educated fanatics. There is a lunatic fringe even to the Union League and to New England Unitarianism; and similarly there are not a few Interlinguists who should be relegated to the balmy shores of Southern California. But for several decades the subject has engaged the attention of philosophers, scientists and scholars. If a cause were to be judged by the quality of its general staff the international language movement should command respect. An exhaustive list of names would swell this brief essay beyond measure; a



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

selection might be invidious; let us be satisfied with a mere indication. Since among men of learning, philologists have for generations been most averse to the international language idea such names as Jespersen, Meillet, Sapir, Vendryes, should suffice to stop the scoffer. I have no desire to insist inasmuch as I give little weight to the argument from authority; Pascal justly derided those theologians who brought forth "monks rather than reasons." I am using authority merely for defensive purposes. Our first positive fact is that the international language has gone far beyond the Utopian stage; there is a science of Interlinguistics.

The second fact is that, throughout the practical world, a vast process of standardization is under way. It is not identical with scientific or industrial progress but it is one of its most efficient instruments. Men have discovered the wastefulness of chaos: ask any scientist if he would advise that each province evolve its own set of units and symbols and its own terminology. Therefore international systems of weights and measures are adopted and even the thread of a humble screw is determined by agreement. Every discipline has its committee on nomenclature and there are associations for coordinating all these efforts. As a result an enormous technological *Interlingua* is being brought into being. It could be turned into a recognized language by the adoption of a few rules—shorter than for any game—and of perhaps two thousand words in common use. Many a technical paper is already nine-tenths international; the national words are opaque fragments in the pellucid mass. What is still wanting is the general code, the ultimate coordination, the final welding. To provide this is the task of the interlinguists.

The third fact, which seems to blind us with excess of evidence, is that the language obstacle is most emphatically not a theory but a condition. It faces us everywhere. Whenever the representatives of two or more countries have to meet, the problem arises; every day, among enemies as well as among friends, it has to be solved by some makeshift. International



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relations cannot forever be restricted to the forcible but rudimentary language of shells and bombs. Interlinguists, therefore, are not dwellers in Dreamland. They are seeking, realistically, the easiest way out of a very concrete difficulty.

The existing solutions will seem to our descendants, as they would have seemed to our ancestors, clumsy beyond belief. Gone are the days when Latin was universal among scholars or French among diplomats. In many international gatherings every word has to be translated *successively* into three, four, five languages. The waste and the weariness may well be imagined. And the situation is growing worse. Aldous Huxley noted that he could still communicate with educated Mexicans through "that incomparable Esperanto, French." But, he added, their descendants will probably know nothing except an Indian dialect and his own descendants will proudly restrict themselves to some form of Cockney. Every patois demands official status; every minor tongue clamors for equality with the greatest. Local differences are so highly cherished that two or more national languages may grow where only one was acknowledged before. There is no concentration of power in the linguistic field analogous to the concentration of wealth prophesied by Karl Marx. The curse of Babel is more grievous than ever, at the very moment when technical triumphs are abolishing distance.

Modern technique, the wonder-worker, has been called to the rescue. An extremely ingenious method has been applied, particularly in the USSR, where all nationalities are promised equal rights on the cultural plane. As a speech is given it is translated, at once and *simultaneously*, into ten or twenty languages by a battery of translators. Every seat in the assembly hall is provided with an earphone; every member plugs the phone so as to hear only the language of his choice. Thus engineering reproduces the Pentecostal miracle and the new Apostles also receive the gift of tongues.

A remarkable achievement no doubt. The difficulties are



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

great but not insuperable; heavy as the initial cost may be, it is trifling compared with that of armaments or unemployment. But this intricate device does not touch the problem of the written word; as before, a highly specialized article or treatise has to be published in a number of languages. It does not help the individual traveler or the men who want to gather for a small, informal symposium. It does not lend itself, in large meetings, to the swift discussion, the interplay of personalities, the gradual adjustment which should be the chief end of any assembly. And, as is so often the case, faultless machinery is as weak as its weakest link, the human element; this method demands a body of interpreters able to *improvise* translations into unrelated languages, on subjects in which they cannot always be experts. With all its technical elaborateness the device is crude. It will do admirably, no doubt, when twenty nationalities are called together to hear their Master's orders; it will not do for the active cooperation of free minds.

Most of these difficulties would disappear if one language and one only were adopted for international communication. At first translation would still be indispensable, interpreters a necessary evil and the earphone method a workable makeshift. But within a few years every man with international interests could acquire a *passive* mastery of the auxiliary language—that is to say the capacity to understand it when read or heard. An *active* command, a speaking and writing knowledge, could become general within a decade. This will seem unduly optimistic to anyone who knows what poor linguists our college students are—not to mention the Faculties. But effective bilingualism can be achieved, even by people of scant education, when it serves a definite purpose. I have met Arabs and Berbers in Morocco who, without formal schooling, spoke excellent French and had a creditable smattering of English. Our language teaching is unsuccessful because its purpose seems unreal. The world of tomorrow will take the trouble to learn the auxiliary language because its benefits will be manifest.

It will be noticed that modern students of the subject speak



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of an "international auxiliary language" and not of a "universal language." For most of them a return to the days before Babel, when all the earth was of one speech, is but the dreariest of dreams. It is reasonable to desire that facts of international validity be expressed by international signs; in a treatise on mathematics or chemistry it would be well if the verbal connectives between formulae were as universal as the formulae themselves. This non-national, this supra-national field, will in all probability expand indefinitely. But not at the expense of the national. Every existing language is at the same time a code and a tradition. For the code part, an international equivalent may be substituted without loss; the tradition is unique. No Esperanto can ever have the complex and undefinable savor of German or Spanish. A language embodies, to borrow a famous phrase from Maurice Barrès, "the soil and the dead." It confers upon the humblest thought a depth of intimacy beyond the reach of philosophers. It adds to the plainest sound a wealth of harmonics which eludes analysis. It is this quality which we find adumbrated, not fully expressed, in such words as "racy," "*bodenständig*" or "*le parler de chez nous.*" Not only is this obscure feeling cherished by the heirs to a tradition; it is precious also, even more consciously at times, to outsiders. I thank the Lord that there are *foreign* languages; if familiarity soothes and strengthens, strangeness is a challenge and a delight. There are three planes, recognized or not, in a man's culture: the basic facts of home associations, the exhilaration of travel and discovery, the vast common denominator of world-wide human experience.

The chief purpose of the international auxiliary language, therefore, is not to supplant the historical and national tongues but on the contrary to save their historical and national character. At present they are exposed to a double threat. The minor ones struggle desperately because they feel themselves menaced with extinction: but for a tremendous effort of the collective will, Irish would go the way of Cornish. Even when minor languages are tolerated, a stigma of inferiority is placed upon



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them. But the major languages stand to suffer also from 'Imperialism,' which ultimately denationalizes the conqueror as well as the conquered. A language begins to disintegrate when it is imposed upon men of an alien tradition; its "raciness" disappears. Greek and Latin lost their vitality when they became "international." If it was a triumph for French to be adopted by cosmopolitans like Frederick II it was also a menace. *Babu* English is noted for its lack of inner harmony and Genevan English sounds appallingly flat.

This is why the adoption of any national language for international purposes is not to be desired even if it were feasible. It is well to insist upon this point, for in every man there slumbers a Hitler, eager to force his will and to assert the supremacy of his own tribe. Many Americans, not consciously imperialistic, take it for granted that when the world comes to its senses it will adopt the language as well as the fashions of Hollywood. Among English radicals there survives an enormous insularity which would be ludicrous if it were not appalling. H. G. Wells chides mankind for not creating the World State—but the Wellsian World State must be of English speech. A subtle logician like Mr. Ogden is on this point as obtuse as any realtor from Zenith. Ogden's *Basic* is a remarkable pedagogical contrivance; it might be subtitled "English almost without tears." But, with its boldly simplified grammar and its streamlined vocabulary, it remains English. It does not attempt to correct the perverse spelling and the bewildering pronunciation of traditional English. Men who start with *Basic* will inevitably graduate into standard English; and they will find English one of the tersest and most idiomatic languages in the world—that is to say, one of the most difficult.

What most advocates of International English fail to realize is that the materialistic arguments they adduce really militate against the language. Wealth, numbers "dominion over palm and pine," "mastery of the seven seas"—all that blatant Kiplingesque self-assertion is a bid for universal supremacy; and against such supremacy the world will eternally revolt. We



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

need an internationalism that will scrupulously respect the interests and above all the pride of every nationalism. I fervently hope that Hitler's mad dream of world power will be shattered; but I confidently expect that in the process all such unholy dreams will be shattered also. For that reason if it were impossible to devise a neutral auxiliary language then we should adopt, not English or German, but that tongue most free from the taint of 'supremacy': some Malaysian dialect perhaps or Maltese or Albanian.

An intelligent and harmonious world must be founded upon liberty and there is no genuine liberty without equality of status. There is a language imperialism which is not identical but parallel with political imperialism. In both cases we establish in our minds a hierarchy of nations and cultures. At the bottom, and without rights of their own, are the 'possessions' and the 'patois' which receive no recognition. A little higher are the 'protected' countries and the 'tolerated' tongues. Above them come the 'minor' independent nations with their cultures—let us say Sweden or Greece. Near the top rank the 'great' powers and the 'major' languages. At the apex stands the Ruling Race and its imperial speech. It is hard to cleanse our souls from such insidious vulgarity. "Lording it"—being purse-proud, mass-proud, race-proud, culture-proud—and despising the lesser tribes is an ugly disease, all the uglier for being so nearly universal. It can be checked, and it must be checked if mankind is to be civilized.

Hence the moral significance of the international language idea, far greater than any material consideration. It implies that *we renounce overlordship*. The adoption of a common auxiliary language will not automatically restore peace; nations fight because they understand each other too well, and civil wars are tragic proof that men of the same speech may be at each other's throat. But a neutral auxiliary language is an indication that men are ready at last for that mutual consideration which is the first condition of peace.

The international language is above all a symbol of good



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will; such is "*la interna ideo*," the inmost thought, the ideal, which inspired Dr. Zamenhof. But it is not an empty symbol; it would also be an admirable instrument for the realization of the ideal it expresses. Let us use a method familiar enough in elementary mathematics and 'suppose the problem solved.' If men were willing to adopt an Interlingua most of the antagonisms which rend and torture Central Europe would lose their acuity. The conflict there is not religious: the Jews are not organized for resistance and there are Catholics, Protestants and freethinkers on either side. Anyone in his senses knows that the root of the trouble is not racial. The Germans are not a race but a historical language-group; Hitler himself is not a 'Teuton'; there are 'Alpines' among the conquerors, 'Nordics' among the conquered. It is not quite so obvious, but it could easily be established, that the cause of strife is not economic. The 'Have-nots' such as Germany had far more than the 'Haves' such as Poland. France could have 'annexed' all the riches of Germany, and Germany all the riches of France, by the simple process of blotting out the customs line between them.

The cause of war is the thirst for supremacy. What Hitler is fighting for is the denial of that *Gleichberechtigung*, that equality of status, which once was his watchword. He must force, as Bülow did before him, the Poles of Posen and the Corridor to speak bad German; he must compel the Poles of Warsaw to acknowledge that Polish is an inferior language. Higher education in Czech is banned. The Poles themselves had the same fierce desire to assert their superiority over the Byelorussians, the Ukrainians and the Lithuanians under their rule. In all mixed areas each element seeks to absorb, eliminate or dominate all the rest; Bucharest is hardly less guilty than Budapest, or Belgrade than Warsaw.

No jigsaw puzzle re-division of Europe will avail to create self-sufficient homogeneous blocks. There are linguistic islands, like the Szeklers and the Saxons in Transylvania, that cannot be separated from the surrounding country; and there are many



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

regions, indeed many villages, in which people speaking different languages are hopelessly intermingled. The one way out is to "live and let live." Let everyone follow the religion and speak the language of his choice. When men of various speech come together, as come they must for administration or for business, let them use a neutral tongue.

Few people doubt that the present frenzy of hate and destruction will end, in ten months or in ten years, in a Federation of Europe and a Super-Federation of the world. But such Federations demand a federal language, and it is a great weakness in admirable plans like Mr. Clarence Streit's that the problem is not faced squarely. Frenchmen, Italians, Spaniards, must not be made to feel in any way inferior to a dominant group, be the favored speech English or German; else there will be eternal jealousy and rancor. And this is true of the Scandinavians, the Dutch, the various Slavic peoples, the Portuguese; true also of the smallest, half-obliterated units, the Catalonians, the Basques, the Irish, the Bretons; true even of a non-national, non-territorial element like the Jews: why should they not freely talk Yiddish or Hebrew among themselves? With a 'federal' language, federal administration becomes easier to conceive. Customs, defense, police, air lines, will have a practical means of communication. A Parliament and a Civil Service for the whole of Europe would cease to be an absurdity. The development of backward areas, such as tropical Africa, could be made a genuine collective task, without suspicion that one particular nation is seeking an undue share of prestige or profit.

We have so far contended that an auxiliary language, as a protection against imperialism, should be *neutral*. It does not rigorously follow that it should be *artificial*. As we suggested before, it would be possible to select a living language so modest that it could not hurt the pride of the major culture groups; or, preferably, we might seek refuge in the neutrality of death and adopt a classical language such as Latin or ancient Greek.

But in the first case the language would have to be expanded



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and recast to an enormous extent before it could be made the vehicle of our complex civilization; "International Albanian" would no longer be historical Albanian but an artificial language with an Albanian framework. In the second case Latin or Greek would have to be sweepingly modernized, in a way which might cause scholars to wince; and in order to be fit for common use they would have to shed most of their intricacies. They have been in an academic twilight sleep for many centuries; it would be vain to resurrect, for practical purposes, the Latin of Cicero and Vergil. Just as national tongues had better remain national, classical tongues had better remain classical.

It would be much more scientific to observe the natural trend of Latin evolution, as revealed in the life of the Neo-Latin or Romanic languages, and to carry that evolution to its logical end. In other words the happiest solution would seem to be 'modern Latin'—Latin as it would have developed if it had not been disrupted and arrested in its growth; a language mainly Neo-Latin in its vocabulary, analytical in its structure, as simple as English in its grammar, free from puzzling idioms and arbitrary exceptions. Such a language could hardly be called 'artificial'; it is artificial like artificial ice or incubator chickens; man uses the materials provided by Nature and submits them to a rationalized natural process.

The formula is simple enough. Its application is by no means easy; it must be remembered that modern interlinguistics is not a game but a science. As in the case of most human efforts the earliest results were crude. Much ingenuity was wasted on a priori or 'philosophical' languages which never had a spark of life. Even in Monsignor Schleyer's Volapük there was an overwhelming element of arbitrariness. Yet Volapük must be remembered with respect and with gratitude, for it proved itself capable of practical use. Thanks to Monsignor Schleyer the way was open; the will, alas! remained lacking.

Dr. Zamenhof followed more consciously and more definitely than Monsignor Schleyer the rules which now guide all interlinguists. His Esperanto is transparently a Neo-Latin and a



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural tongue, with only a few incongruous elements. But Esperanto does not take a normal place in the development of international languages; it may be termed a 'mutation' due to the accident of genius. The creation of a single mind, it has the virtues as well as the limitations of a work of art. It had from the first, and it has retained for half a century, a marked individuality, a weird and indomitable power of life. It is not a mere code; it has a spirit and a style all its own. Hence the undoubted fascination it possesses; it is loved and hated as only a living thing can be. No one wasted much sentiment, favorable or adverse, over Idiom Neutral or Novial.

There was far more to Dr. Zamenhof's work than the purely linguistic side. He was unique among language-makers for a miraculous yet unassuming combination of idealism and practical sense. On the one hand he formulated, more clearly than any other in the field, "*la interna ideo*," that burning faith in human brotherhood which remains our hope. On the other hand he established the policy which has made Esperanto the one decisive experiment among so many stillborn projects. Agree once for all upon a few essentials and then, instead of constantly 'improving' your language, use it for all it is worth. As a result Esperanto has piously retained all its early blemishes, and some of them are a very serious handicap indeed. But it has also proved that an artificial language could preserve its unity and its continuity in fifty countries and over fifty years. This demonstration could have been effected in no other way and it is of immeasurable consequence. With the confidence created by this enforced stability, the language has been used in hundreds of volumes and magazines for all possible subjects, from metaphysics to humor, from translations of the Bible, Vergil, Shakespeare, Goethe, to popular romance and farce. Zamenhof never believed in his own infallibility; his policy was not the fruit of obstinacy and pride. He wanted to keep Esperanto unchanged in essentials in order to keep it working. In this he has been successful. To the present day, Esperanto offers not only a large-scale and prolonged demonstration but



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a solution which, however imperfect, is acceptable. And it has the enormous advantage of being absolutely ready.

Others followed the path Zamenhof deliberately closed for himself, that of endless experimentation. The results have been far from negligible. The common cause was well served by both methods although the rival schools denounced each other with almost theological bitterness. Thanks to innumerable efforts, by individuals and by devoted little groups, the lineaments of the auxiliary language are gradually assuming definiteness. All the serious proposals outside of Esperanto may be considered as dialects of the same tongue. Unity, which Zamenhof created by a stroke of genius, is being achieved by slower and probably safer means.

These efforts are best summed up in the long, unselfish and meritorious career of the Esthonian scholar De Wahl. He has been actively associated with all the principal schemes; and when, after many years, he at last propounded a project of his own, *Occidental*, it revealed the result of mature study. Occidental is little known outside of interlinguist circles but it has won the respectful attention of scholars.

In my opinion it was the mathematician and logician Giuseppe Peano, working on an indication from Leibniz, who formulated the clearest and most attractive solution of the problem. Peano discarded every arbitrary, a priori element. He did not seek, as even Zamenhof had done, a well-meaning and precarious compromise between terms of Latin, Germanic and Slavic origin. He started scientifically from the lists of words which were already international. He found that the overwhelming majority of them came from Latin and he frankly called his 'Interlingua' *Latino*—but *Latino sine Flexione*, for the complicated desinences of classical and medieval Latin have disappeared from the European languages of today. He does not distort this 'living Latin' according to complicated rules or sheer caprice; he adopts the etymological form from which modern words are derived. His grammar is reduced to the strictest minimum; indeed he professed that no grammar



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whatever is required—a paradox I believe which has been for his Interlingua something of a handicap, for grammar is a simplification, not an added complexity.

Since his 'living Latin' survives bodily in English it can be read without previous study by anyone acquainted with classical Latin or with literary English or with any one of the Romanic languages. The conscious linking of Interlingua with classical Latin at one end, with English at the other, offers considerable advantages. The 'new' language is not really new. Every Latin scholar, every Catholic priest, is already familiar with it. For elementary students it provides useful etymological indications; for those who so desire it, it can be used as a step towards the learning of classical Latin. Above all it coordinates, far better than Esperanto, with that "standardization of nomenclature" mentioned at the beginning of this discussion. The vocabulary of many branches of knowledge—mathematics, philosophy, law, the natural sciences—is already Latin or Latinized Greek. Even in modern industry many of the terms are of classical ancestry. Aeroplane, dirigible, automobile, submarine, contractor, specifications, are not words which Cicero would have used twenty centuries ago but they are the words that Cicero would use today.

Esperanto, Occidental, Latino, are practical solutions, immediately available. All three, in various degrees, offer the same essential qualities: naturalness, neutrality, facility. Their claim to neutrality may be disputed. They favor the Anglo-Latin group at the expense of the Teutonic and Slavic, and the European at the expense of the Oriental. But absolute neutrality could be achieved only through absolute artificiality. For fear of making the language a little too easy for some we should have to make it exceedingly difficult for all. Neutrality is sufficiently preserved if the solution adopted is non-national. Basic English is not neutral in spirit; Esperanto, Occidental, Latino are.

The facility of artificial languages is sometimes over-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

emphasized by enthusiastic propagandists. Tolstoy learned Esperanto in a few hours and any Western scholar can read Latino at first sight; obviously an uneducated Slav, Teuton or Asiatic would have a harder time; even a good linguist will need study and practice before he can write or speak an auxiliary language fluently. But, after discounting extravagant claims, the fact remains that Esperanto, Occidental, Latino, are considerably easier than the best historical languages. Their whole grammar can usually be printed on a postcard, there are no idioms and no exceptions, their spelling is phonetic, difficult sounds are avoided, and the accentuation is regular. This to my mind is not the strongest element in favor of artificial languages: neutrality is far more essential than facility. But the advantage of facility is not to be spurned.

Again: if the will be lacking, the way, however easy, will be of no avail. The international language idea requires our determined effort; it will not triumph automatically. We must liberate our minds from the lazy 19th-century fallacy of "unconscious growth": it is a pseudo-scientific rewording of "muddling through." The vast forces now in fierce conflict are perfectly conscious: on the one hand imperialism, which seeks expansion through conquest; on the other nationalism, which resists absorption with desperate energy.

The tragedy is that both are justified. Imperialism is right: our civilization demands larger units than the small European nations of yesterday. Nationalism is right: no one should be subjected to alien rule. They can be reconciled only through our conscious endeavor. Hegelian dialectics will help us out of that infernal circle. If nationalism and imperialism are thesis and antithesis, federal union is their synthesis: the free association of equals, symbolized and served by a neutral federal language.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Education vs. Western Civilization

WALTER LIPPMANN

IT WAS once the custom in the great universities to propound a series of theses which, as Cotton Mather put it, the student had to "defend manfully." I should like to revive this custom by propounding a thesis about the state of education in this troubled age.

The thesis which I venture to submit to you is as follows:

That during the past forty or fifty years those who are responsible for education have progressively removed from the curriculum of studies the Western culture which produced the modern democratic state;

That the schools and colleges have, therefore, been sending out into the world men who no longer understand the creative principle of the society in which they must live;

That, deprived of their cultural tradition, the newly educated Western men no longer possess in the form and substance of their own minds and spirits, the ideas, the premises, the rationale, the logic, the method, the values or the deposited wisdom which are the genius of the development of Western civilization;

That the prevailing education is destined, if it continues, to destroy Western civilization and is in fact destroying it;

That our civilization cannot effectively be maintained where it still flourishes, or be restored where it has been crushed, without the revival of the central, continuous, and perennial culture of the Western world;

And that, therefore, what is now required in the modern

An address delivered under the auspices of Phi Beta Kappa at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Irvine Auditorium, University of Pennsylvania, December 29, 1940.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

educational system is not the expansion of its facilities or the specific reform of its curriculum and administration but a thorough reconsideration of its underlying assumptions and of its purposes.

I realize quite well that this thesis constitutes a sweeping indictment of modern education. But I believe that the indictment is justified and that there is a prima facie case for entertaining this indictment.

Universal and compulsory modern education was established by the emancipated democracies during the 19th century. "No other sure foundation can be devised," said Thomas Jefferson, "for the preservation of freedom and happiness." Yet as a matter of fact during the 20th century the generations trained in these schools have either abandoned their liberties or they have not known, until the last desperate moment, how to defend them. The schools were to make men free. They have been in operation for some sixty or seventy years and what was expected of them they have not done. The plain fact is that the graduates of the modern schools are the actors in the catastrophe which has befallen our civilization. Those who are responsible for modern education—for its controlling philosophy—are answerable for the results.

They have determined the formation of the mind and education of modern men. As the tragic events unfold they cannot evade their responsibility by talking about the crimes and follies of politicians, business men, labor leaders, lawyers, editors and generals. They have conducted the schools and colleges and they have educated the politicians, business men, labor leaders, lawyers, editors and generals. What is more they have educated the educators.

They have had money, lots of it, fine buildings, big appropriations, great endowments and the implicit faith of the people that the school was the foundation of democracy. If the results are bad, and indubitably they are, on what ground can any of us who are in any way responsible for education disclaim our responsibility or decline to undertake a profound searching of



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

our own consciences and a deep re-examination of our philosophy.

The institutions of the Western world were formed by men who learned to regard themselves as inviolable persons because they were rational and free. They meant by rational that they were capable of comprehending the moral order of the universe and their place in this moral order. They meant when they regarded themselves as free that within that order they had a personal moral responsibility to perform their duties and to exercise their corresponding rights. From this conception of the unity of mankind in a rational order the Western world has derived its conception of law—which is that all men and all communities of men and all authority among men are subject to law, and that the character of all particular laws is to be judged by whether they conform to or violate, approach or depart from the rational order of the universe and of man's nature. From this conception of law was derived the idea of constitutional government and of the consent of the governed and of civil liberty. Upon this conception of law our own institutions were founded.

This, in barest outline, is the specific outlook of Western men. This, we may say, is the structure of the Western spirit. This is the formation which distinguishes it. The studies and the disciplines which support and form this spiritual outlook and habit are the creative cultural tradition of Europe and the Americas. In this tradition our world was made. By this tradition it must live. Without this tradition our world, like a tree cut off from its roots in the soil, must die and be replaced by alien and barbarous things.

It is necessary today in a discussion of this sort to define and identify what we mean when we speak of Western culture. This is in itself ominous evidence of what the official historian of Harvard University has called "the greatest educational crime of the century against American youth,—depriving him of his classical heritage." For there will be many, the victims



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of this educational crime, who will deny that there is such a thing as Western culture.

Yet the historic fact is that the institutions we cherish—and now know we must defend against the most determined and efficient attack ever organized against them—are the products of a culture which, as Gilson put it,

> is essentially the culture of Greece, inherited from the Greeks by the Romans, transfused by the Fathers of the Church with the religious teachings of Christianity, and progressively enlarged by countless numbers of artists, writers, scientists and philosophers from the beginning of the Middle Ages up to the first third of the nineteenth century.

The men who wrote the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights were educated in schools and colleges in which the classic works of this culture were the substance of the curriculum. In these schools the transmission of this culture was held to be the end and aim of education.

Modern education, however, is based on a denial that it is necessary or useful or desirable for the schools and colleges to continue to transmit from generation to generation the religious and classical culture of the Western world. It is, therefore, much easier to say what modern education rejects than to find out what modern education teaches. Modern education rejects and excludes from the curriculum of necessary studies the whole religious tradition of the West. It abandons and neglects as no longer necessary the study of the whole classical heritage of the great works of great men.

Thus there is an enormous vacuum where until a few decades ago there was the substance of education. And with what is that vacuum filled: it is filled with the elective, eclectic, the specialized, the accidental and incidental improvisations and spontaneous curiosities of teachers and students. There is no common faith, no common body of principle, no common body of knowledge, no common moral and intellectual discipline. Yet the graduates of these modern schools are expected to form a civilized community. They are expected to govern themselves. They are expected to have a social conscience. They



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are expected to arrive by discussion at common purposes. When one realizes that they have no common culture is it astounding that they have no common purpose? That they worship false gods? That only in war do they unite? That in the fierce struggle for existence they are tearing Western society to pieces? They are the graduates of an educational system in which, though attendance is compulsory, the choice of the subject matter of education is left to the imagination of college presidents, trustees and professors, or even to the whims of the pupils themselves. We have established a system of education in which we insist that while everyone must be educated, yet there is nothing in particular that an educated man must know.

For it is said that since the invention of the steam engine we live in a new era, an era so radically different from all preceding ages that the cultural tradition is no longer relevant, is in fact misleading. I submit to you that this is a rationalization, that this is a pretended reason for the educational void which we now call education. The real reason, I venture to suggest, is that we reject the religious and classical heritage, first, because to master it requires more effort than we are willing to compel ourselves to make, and, second, because it creates issues that are too deep and too contentious to be faced with equanimity. We have abolished the old curriculum because we are afraid of it, afraid to face any longer in a modern democratic society the severe discipline and the deep, disconcerting issues of the nature of the universe, and of man's place in it and of his destiny.

I recognize the practical difficulties and the political danger of raising these questions and I shall not offer you a quick and easy remedy. For the present discussion all I am concerned with is that we should begin to recognize the situation as it really is and that we should begin to search our hearts and consciences.

We must confess, I submit, that modern education has renounced the idea that the pupil must learn to understand himself, his fellow men and the world in which he is to live as



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

bound together in an order which transcends his immediate needs and his present desires. As a result the modern school has become bound to conceive the world as a place where the child, when he grows up, must compete with other individuals in a struggle for existence. And so the education of his reason and of his will must be designed primarily to facilitate his career.

By separating education from the classical religious tradition the school cannot train the pupil to look upon himself as an inviolable person because he is made in the image of God. These very words, though they are the noblest words in our language, now sound archaic. The school cannot look upon society as a brotherhood arising out of a conviction that men are made in a common image. The teacher has no subject matter that even pretends to deal with the elementary and universal issues of human destiny. The graduate of the modern school knows only by accident and by hearsay whatever wisdom mankind has come to in regard to the nature of men and their destiny.

For the vital core of the civilized tradition of the West is by definition excluded from the curriculum of the modern, secular, democratic school. The school must sink, therefore, into being a mere training ground for personal careers. Its object must then be to equip individual careerists and not to form fully civilized men. The utility of the schools must then be measured by their success in equipping specialists for successful rivalry in the pursuit of their separate vocations. Their cultural ideal must then be to equip the individual to deal practically with immediate and discrete difficulties, to find by trial and error immediately workable and temporarily satisfactory expedients.

For if more than this were attempted the democratic secular school would have to regard the pupil as having in him not merely an ambition but a transcendent relationship that must regulate his ambition. The schools would have to regard science as the progressive discovery of this order in the universe. They would have to cultivate Western tradition and transmit it to the young, proving to them that this tradition is no mere record



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the obsolete fallacies of the dead but that it is a deposit of living wisdom.

But the emancipated democracies have renounced the idea that the purpose of education is to transmit the Western culture. Thus there is a cultural vacuum, and this cultural vacuum was bound to produce, in fact it has produced, progressive disorder. For the more men have become separated from the spiritual heritage which binds them together, the more has education become egoist, careerist, specialist and asocial.

In abandoning the classical religious culture of the West the schools have ceased to affirm the central principle of the Western philosophy of life—that man's reason is the ruler of his appetites. They have reduced reason to the role of servant to man's appetites. The working philosophy of the emancipated democracies is, as a celebrated modern psychologist has put it, that "the instinctive impulses determine the *end* of all activities . . . and the most highly developed mind *is but* the instrument by which those impulses seek their satisfaction."

The logic of this conception of the human reason must lead progressively to a system of education which sharpens the acquisitive and domineering and possessive instincts. And in so far as the instincts, rather than reason, determine the ends of our activity the end of all activity must become the accumulation of power over men in the pursuit of the possession of things. So when parents and taxpayers in a democracy ask whether education is useful for life they tend by and large to mean by useful that which equips the pupil for a career which will bring him money and place and power.

The reduction of reason to an instrument of each man's personal career must mean also that education is emptied of its content. For what the careerist has to be taught are the data that he may need in order to succeed. Thus all subjects of study are in principle of equal value. There are no subjects which all men belonging to the same civilization need to study. In the realms of knowledge the student elects those subjects which will presumably equip him for success in his career; for the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

student there is then no such thing as a general order of knowledge which he is to possess in order that it may regulate his specialty.

And just as the personal ambition of the student rather than social tradition determines what the student shall learn, so the inquiry and the research of the scholar becomes more and more disconnected from any general and regulating body of knowledge.

It is this specialized and fundamentally disordered development of knowledge which has turned so much of man's science into the means of his own destruction. For as reason is regarded as no more than the instrument of men's desires, applied science inflates enormously the power of men's desires. Since reason is not the ruler of these desires, the power which science places in men's hands is ungoverned.

Quickly it becomes ungovernable. Science is the product of intelligence. But if the function of the intelligence is to be the instrument of the acquisitive, the possessive and the domineering impulses, then these impulses, so strong by nature, must become infinitely stronger when they are equipped with all the resources of man's intelligence.

That is why men today are appalled by the discovery that when modern man fights he is the most destructive animal ever known on this planet; that when he is acquisitive he is the most cunning and efficient; that when he dominates the weak he has engines of oppression and of calculated cruelty and deception no antique devil could have imagined.

And, at last, education founded on the secular image of man must destroy knowledge itself. For if its purpose is to train the intelligence of specialists in order that by trial and error they may find a satisfying solution of particular difficulties, then each situation and each problem has to be examined as a novelty. This is supposed to be "scientific." But in fact it is a denial of that very principle which has made possible the growth of science.

For what enables men to know more than their ancestors is



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that they start with a knowledge of what their ancestors have already learned. They are able to do advanced experiments which increase knowledge because they do not have to repeat the elementary experiments. It is tradition which brings them to the point where advanced experimentation is possible. This is the meaning of tradition. This is why a society can be progressive only if it conserves its tradition.

The notion that every problem can be studied as such with an open and empty mind, without preconception, without knowing what has already been learned about it, must condemn men to a chronic childishness. For no man, and no generation of men, is capable of inventing for itself the arts and sciences of a high civilization. No one, and no one generation, is capable of rediscovering all the truths men need, of developing sufficient knowledge by applying a mere intelligence, no matter how acute, to mere observation, no matter how accurate. The men of any generation, as Bernard of Chartres put it, are like dwarfs seated on the shoulders of giants. If we are to "see more things than the ancients and things more distant" it is "due neither to the sharpness of our sight nor the greatness of our stature" but "simply because they have lent us their own."

For individuals do not have the time, the opportunity or the energy to make all the experiments and to discern all the significance that have gone into the making of the whole heritage of civilization. In developing knowledge men must collaborate with their ancestors. Otherwise they must begin, not where their ancestors arrived but where their ancestors began. If they exclude the tradition of the past from the curricula of the schools they make it necessary for each generation to repeat the errors rather than to benefit by the successes of its predecessors.

Having cut him off from the tradition of the past, modern secular education has isolated the individual. It has made him a careerist—without social connection—who must make his way —without benefit of man's wisdom—through a struggle in which there is no principle of order. This is the uprooted and



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

incoherent modern "free man" that Mr. Bertrand Russell has so poignantly described, the man who sees

> surrounding the narrow raft illumined by the flickering light of human comradeship, the dark ocean on whose rolling waves we toss for a brief hour; from the great night without, a chill blast breaks in upon our refuge; all the loneliness of humanity amid hostile forces is concentrated upon the individual soul, which must struggle alone, with what of courage it can command, against the whole weight of the universe that cares nothing for its hopes and fears.

This is what the free man, in reality merely the freed and uprooted and dispossessed man, has become. But he is not the stoic that Mr. Russell would have him be. To "struggle alone" is more than the freed man can bear to do. And so he gives up his freedom and surrenders his priceless heritage, unable as he is constituted to overcome his insoluble personal difficulties and to endure his awful isolation.

## Harvest, 1940

EDWARD WEISMILLER

Slowly the shuttered sun, deep in the west,
Resigns the sky to crimson. Cloud by cloud
The world turns fire and flowers; and soft or loud
A bird discusses silence from its nest.
The abandoned east is all one cratered hill,
Blue and illumined green; and near at hand,
Muffled in haze, the grain is on the land,
Unharvested and still.

And this is paradise, where man has stood—
And man is here: not seeking on the south
Tomorrow's wind; but he in darkness, he
In rage and sorrow, lost in a withered wood,
With staring eyes and stricken, whispering mouth
Plucks the red fruit of ruin from the tree.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# America Registers Her Aliens

J. H. POLLACK

TRADITIONALLY, America has been a haven for the oppressed and homeless. A melting pot, an asylum for the downtrodden, we have spread our sheltering wings over the unfortunate of the earth. Hordes of freedom-loving immigrants have entered unrestricted into the Land of Opportunity, peopling its cities, populating its sparse areas, colonizing its prairies, digging its coal, building its railroads, slaughtering its hogs.

During the years, especially in the 19th century, when the United States needed workmen to develop its material resources, immigrants were welcomed, even besought to come. In the hundred years preceding World War I America received thirty-seven million strangers and throughout the 19th century the poor, tired and huddled masses contributed heavily to the national wealth. Encouraging the immigrant was consistent with America's burgeoning international trade. Good Will was Good Business—so much so that aliens enjoyed a greater protection than common law demanded. The non-citizen could enter, travel, work, worship as he pleased and our constitution defended him against illegal searches and seizures. The Fourth, Fifth, Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments safeguarded "persons" instead of merely "citizens" or "subjects." As late as 1910 seventy thousand immigrants passed through Ellis Island monthly.

The Alien and Sedition laws, which would have jeopardized the Bill of Rights, were passed only ten years after the Constitution was ratified; but two years later these laws were repealed and the Federalist party, responsible for them, was voted out of office. Thomas Jefferson in his 1801 inaugural address wondered:



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Shall we refuse the unhappy fugitives from distress that hospitality which the savages of the wilderness extended to our forefathers arriving in this land? Is oppressed humanity to find no asylum on this globe?

Nor was there any other discriminatory federal legislation until passage of the Act of 1875, which excluded convicts and prostitutes. Sixteen years later polygamists, paupers, criminals and those with contagious diseases were likewise shut out.

But since America's lusty expansion era inevitably ended when the West became settled, the need for labor slackened. Aliens congregated in the large cities; less "desirable" Central Europeans flooded our shores; immigrants became unpopular. By 1882 immigration was no longer either uncontrolled or regulated by the several states but passed under rigid federal jurisdiction. "Foreign agitators" were blamed for the Haymarket Massacre of 1885, the assassinations of Presidents Garfield and McKinley, the San Francisco general strike of 1934. Today the depression, Japanese earthquakes and Hitler's conquest of the Low and High countries are attributed to aliens.

Over-zealous governors and mayors now issue anti-alien proclamations and many states systematically discriminate against their foreign-born. In twenty-eight states only full citizens may practice medicine; twenty-six flatly refuse to examine graduates of foreign medical schools. Many states likewise erect insurmountable barriers for non-naturalized dentists, optometrists, accountants, pharmacists, engineers. Moreover it was recently concluded that

Bus drivers, veterinarians, undertakers, peddlers, auctioneers, poolroom operators, barbers and liquor dealers must be citizens in various states under protection of court decisions. Untested legislation applies to real-estate brokers, salesmen, employment agents, private detectives, bankers, insurance agents, pawnbrokers, plumbers and mine foremen.

Increasingly the non-citizen is being excluded from the most menial work: in Seattle, Washington only the native-born may collect garbage. Aliens in Virginia may not be junk dealers nor in Oregon commercial fishermen. Historically, California has taxed aliens for the privilege of working in the gold mines and



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

has prohibited Mongolians from fishing and from either owning or leasing land. Aliens in Florida cannot remove oysters "for other than their own use"; non-citizens in Pennsylvania cannot possess firearms or dogs; in Nebraska all public meetings must be conducted in the English language. Fearful lest they remove money from the country, states have likewise discriminated against aliens in gift, income, estate and inheritance taxes—not to mention relief, old-age pensions and workmen's compensation benefits. Several benevolent states permit "friendly" aliens to own real property. Forty-three states require jury members to be citizens. Although in federal courts the alien enjoys a constitutional right to trial by jury, this protection does not apply in state courts. One state even sought—unconstitutionally—to tax employers for each alien they employed. Another state is currently proposing forced-labor projects which would conscript non-citizens to build military roads.

Nor has the federal government abstained from discrimination. But while states have long excluded aliens from public projects, it was not until 1937 that non-citizens were forbidden employment by the W.P.A. Aliens are also greeted with thumbs down in matters of common property, public domain or public monies. The same is true when they seek employment as ship's-officers, aviation employees, licensed radio operators, or as workers in factories awarded Army or Navy contracts. Aliens cannot be tenants in federal low-cost housing projects, and only citizens can fish in Alaskan waters. Today the 77th Congress (there are twenty foreign-born members in its ranks) is stampeding to deny non-citizens the right to work for the federal government or in private industry.

Even during the era of Coolidge prosperity, industry closed the door to aliens in three out of five cases. Today eight or nine out of every ten jobs in the United States are denied to aliens. More and more, not only is the non-citizen excluded from payrolls but the very businessmen who refuse him employment simultaneously denounce him as a relief parasite toward whose



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

maintenance the government mulcts them of excessive taxes. Some labor unions smear the alien as a job-stealing, wage-cutting debaser of the American standard of living and according to one recent estimate refuse him membership four out of five times. The American Federation of Labor, in particular, has often negotiated "gentlemen's agreements" with employers not to hire aliens. Six years ago the A. F. of L. Seamen's Union tore up the membership cards of Filipinos; at one time the initiation fee in the Flint Glass Workers' Union (A. F. of L.) was $3 for citizens and $100 for foreign-born workers.

In a sense every crisis in our history has been accompanied by alien-baiting. During peace and prosperity we seek no scapegoat. But World War I saw alien-baiting reach a Wagnerian crescendo. The chief of our war-time propaganda bureau recently confessed:

> Liberty loan drivers demanded the right to see what each earned or spent and decided arbitrarily how many bonds some poor Croat or Lithuanian must buy. Worst of all were the "Americanizers," self-appointed busybodies who infested every foreign colony. The arrest of any alien on any charge whatsoever was played up on front pages but not one word would be printed when 30,000 foreign-born gathered to stage a patriotic demonstration.

Immediately following the War came the notorious "Red Raids" staged by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer in an attempt to groom himself for President. The Department of Justice then illegally usurped the powers of the Bureau of Immigration and terrorized large sections of the population. A pestilence of vigilantes, private snoopers and professional patriots broke out. Civil liberties choked for breath.

Moreover the symptoms were contagious. As Asiatics flocked into California alarm spread. Uneasiness reigned. The Yellow Peril bugaboo was born. Partly owing to agitation by alien-baiters who accused immigrants of seizing jobs rightfully due the native-born, the Immigration Act of 1924 was passed, limiting total immigration to approximately 150,000 annually



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with prescribed quotas for each nation. Japanese and Chinese were specifically excluded and those Asiatics already here were precluded from becoming citizens—hardly a comforting thought or pleasant gesture to modern imperialist Japan. Today Race Legislation—the Congressional power to discriminate against particular races of aliens under certain circumstances—is clear and unquestioned.

The germ refused to die. Anti-alien legislation recurred sporadically in the twenties, chiefly sponsored by Senators Blease and Johnson, Representatives Answell, Sosnowski and Gable and Secretaries of Labor Davis and Doak. Some of the bills were innocuously termed "certificates of admission." It was alleged at the time that President Hoover was not averse to signing a "voluntary" registration-of-aliens bill should it pass both houses, but Congress adjourned before a vote on any specific measure could be taken. Obviously any voluntary registration would in effect become compulsory, for aliens who did not register would be under such continual suspicion that social pressure would force them, in self-protection, to register.

Impatient with Uncle Sam, alien registration diehards turned hopefully to the state legislatures where they succeeded in passing the Michigan Alien Registration Act (subsequently stricken from the books). Recently a Pennsylvania alien registration law was similarly deemed unconstitutional. Several other states, including North Carolina and New York, have written alien registration laws on their books. These have not yet been tested.

The battle then returned to the Congressional arena. Senator Reynolds' bill (S. 408), of last year, would require the immigrant to renew his registration annually. Should he fail to do so the alien would be deported after payment of a $10,000 fine and completion of a five-year prison sentence. Senator McKellar's bill demanded registration every six months and deportation of all aliens not becoming citizens within five years. Another bill would have curtailed immigration by 90 per cent and still another would have halted immigration altogether for the next ten years. None of these bills was passed.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since that time alien antagonism has grown even sharper. Over 70 anti-alien bills were introduced into the last (76th) Congress and the present (77th) has been flooded with them. Within a week of the opening of the 77th Congress practically all the anti-alien bills defeated in the previous Congress were reintroduced. For the most part they deal with employment, revocation of citizenship, and concentration camps for aliens. Though much of this hostility can be attributed directly to the depression, the war scare—with its "ism" panic—has immeasurably aggravated an already tense situation. Worse, it has enabled Native Sons to smear aliens as traitors, saboteurs, communists, spies etc. Rather than deport non-naturalized Harry Bridges, one Congressman preferred to see him "shot on American soil as a warning to all of his kind." A small-town mayor threatened to arrest troublesome aliens on Independence Day.

Of the recent anti-alien legislation passing the House and favorably reported by the Senate Immigration Committee, foremost perhaps is the Dempsey Deportation Bill (H. R. 4860). This bill would deport aliens who advocate "any changes in the government" or who have at any time belonged to any organization advocating such changes. Senate approval likewise fell upon the Hobbes Bill (H. R. 5643) which demanded indefinite detention of certain aliens who had been ordered ousted but for whom passports to effect their deportation could not be obtained. The Smith Bill (H. R. 5138) would banish aliens for membership at any time, "no matter how short duration," in certain radical organizations, while Congressman Starnes proposed (H. R. 6724) that any alien who "admitted in writing" to sabotage or espionage should be deported. To set an example Congressman Pace (H. R. 999) would immediately empty the United States of *all* aliens.

Out of this welter of Congressional confusion and public hysteria over the success of European fifth columnists an alarmed Senate Judiciary Committee considering the Smith Bill hastily slapped on provisions for alien registration. Speedily Congress passed the revised measure and on June 28th Presi-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dent Roosevelt signed it. Thus was enacted the most far-reaching legislation affecting aliens in the history of the United States: the compulsory Alien Registration Act of 1940 (Public Notice 670—76th Congress).

Designed as a national defense measure, the Alien Registration Act consists of four parts (or Titles). Only Title III, however, concerns alien registration. Although the Act's purposes were not clearly defined they undoubtedly stemmed from an effort to expose subversive agents. The measure ordered an estimated 3,500,000 non-citizens to register and be fingerprinted between August 27 and December 26, 1940—a minimum of 36,000 daily on 100 registration days. In the first two weeks (by September 10) 1,000,000 aliens registered. By December 9, after an inevitable slackening, the estimated 3,500,000 total had been exceeded. When registration closed on December 26 almost 5,000,000 aliens had registered. Approximately 80 per cent lived in ten industrial states.

The requirements were clear and simple: every alien over fourteen years of age had to go personally to one of the 45,000 United States post offices and fill out a questionnaire informing the government of his name (or alias), address, date of birth, sex, occupation, employer, relatives, physical appearance, citizenship and marital status, military or criminal record. He likewise had to specify whether he was White, Negro, Japanese or Chinese; when and where he arrived in the United States and how long he expected to stay. Should he be a member of any club, organization or society he must so specify by name. And he must notify the Immigration and Naturalization Service (recently transferred from the Department of Labor to the Department of Justice) within five days of any change of address.

There was no charge for registration and no red tape. Guardians registered for insane aliens and for those under fourteen; the latter were ordered, however, to re-register for themselves when they should reach Alien Age. Alien students

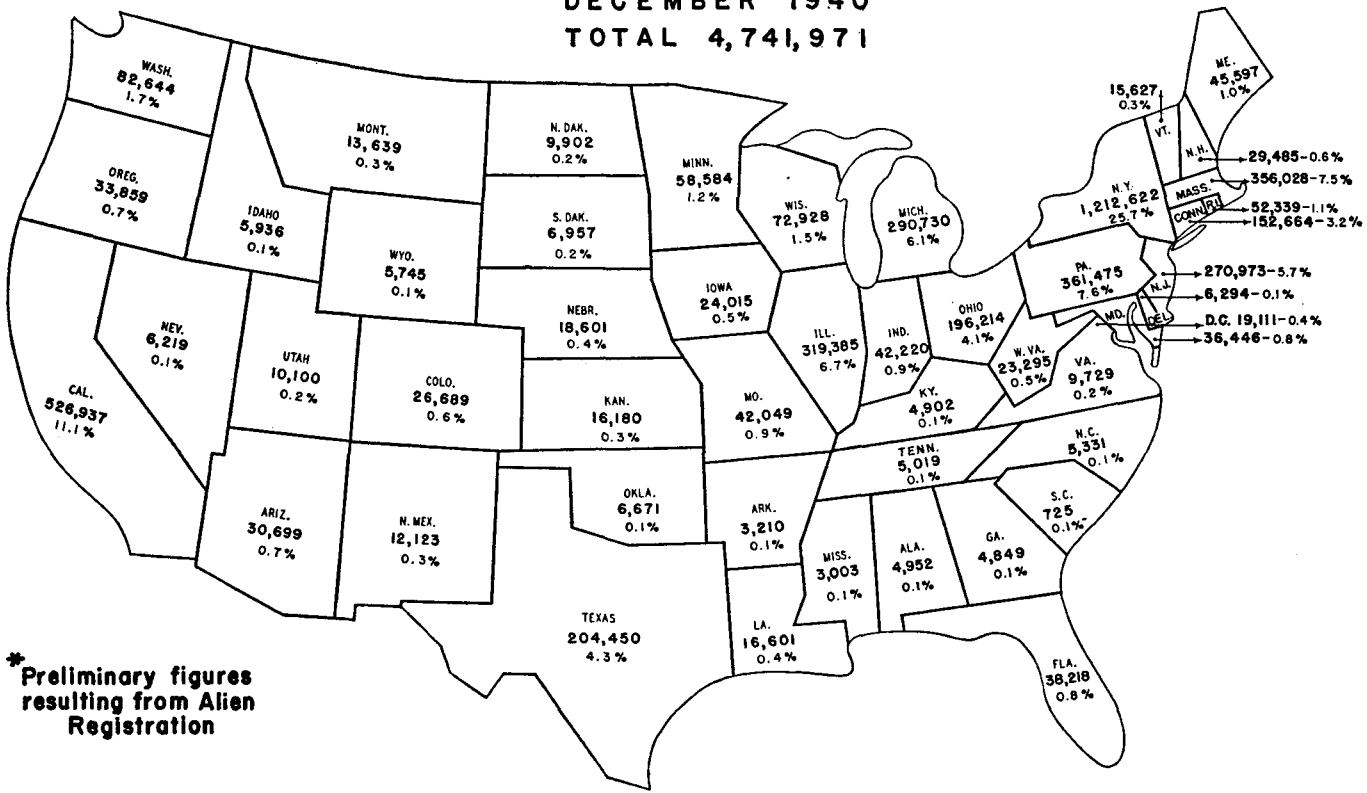


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# ALIENS IN THE UNITED STATES*

DECEMBER 1940

TOTAL 4,741,971




*Preliminary figures resulting from Alien Registration

Department of Justice

IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION SERVICE

ALIEN REGISTRATION DIVISION

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

admitted under the non-quota classification had to register. Perhaps the most significant of the fifteen questions was

Within the past five years, I..... (have, have not) been affiliated with or active in (a member of, official of, a worker for) organizations, devoted in whole or in part to influencing or furthering the political activities, public relations or public policy of a foreign government.

Registration officials were cautioned not to define such organizations but to permit the alien to answer as truthfully as possible. After registration the alien's questionnaire and fingerprints were sent to the Department of Justice; thereupon the Department mailed a receipt card which would serve not only as proof of his registration but as a verification of his correct address. Six months' imprisonment or $1000 fine (or both) awaited those failing to register or tell the truth.

Considering its difficult assignment the Alien Registration Division of the Department of Justice did an excellent job in "humanizing" the registration process, performing it "as painlessly and with as little inconvenience as possible"—and "at next to no expense to the government." Via newspapers, magazines, radio, movies, booklets, posters, subway signs and other miscellaneous media it graciously reminded aliens of the urgency of registration. For the alien's convenience registration forms were printed in a dozen languages and several million specimen green blanks were distributed. Advised to register even if he held first or second citizenship papers, warned against racketeers who promised to "fix things," the alien was likewise admonished "that registration for Selective Service must not be confused with Alien Registration." The Division's publicity bureau enlisted the support of postal employees, social agencies, enlightened employers, the foreign language press and organizations, and New Deal Congressmen who broadcast appeals to their various cultural and political constituents.[1] It also arranged

[1] It is interesting to note that as a patriotic gesture *Popular Astronomy*, despite its title, a highly technical journal, published a routine press release from the bureau.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

network radio programs featuring prominent aliens including Thomas Mann and Charles Boyer. Assured that his registration record would be kept "secret and confidential"—available only to persons approved by the Attorney General—aliens were reassured "if you have nothing to hide, you have nothing to fear"; the alien, a ward of Uncle Sam, was registering in these parlous times for his own "protection" against persecution by vigilantes, spy hunters, unprincipled lawyers, loan sharks etc.

The division's foremost task was perhaps that of "selling" aliens the desirability of fingerprinting. Though names can be changed, signatures forged and faces lifted, no two sets of fingerprints are exactly alike. Far from being a stigma, fingerprints are taken of Army and Navy enlistees, Civilian Conservation Corps workers, Federal Civil Service employees, Postal Savings depositors, New York City night-club employees—not to mention thousands of patriotic citizens, among them Fiorello La Guardia and John Nance Garner, who requested to be fingerprinted for proper identification. Progressive hospitals are now fingerprinting the newborn and the Department of Interior when negotiating agreements with illiterate Indians will accept fingerprints in lieu of a signature. Over 11,000,000 sets of fingerprints are on file with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Since this is merely "a modern device for making sure when you are trying to keep track of a lot of people that the records do not get confused," no decent, responsible alien "guest" need have any qualms about being fingerprinted by a friendly administration. Youthful aliens need not be fingerprinted until their 14th birthday.

When signing the Act, President Roosevelt stressed that registration is no "stigma" and that aliens "are entitled to and must receive full protection of the law." But despite government patience and reassurance, the registration process needlessly terrified countless aliens, young and old, many of whom feared dismissal by unsympathetic employers—or worse, deportation and separation from their families. Some local officials even threatened to take punitive measures against aliens who



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

were unable to produce proof of registration. An editor of a magazine in the field of social work concluded that "tens of thousands of non-citizens are frightened, anxious, insecure or exploited." Indeed, does not Title II Section 23 of the Act make deportable any alien who *at any time*—even as a youngster—was a member of an organization advocating the violent overthrow of our government? Though aliens subject to deportation for political beliefs, criminal offenses or overstaying their leave are relatively few, the Act placed in a perilous predicament those aliens who entered the United States illegally. Whereas aliens entering illegally before July 1, 1924 can apply for a certificate of registry legalizing their residence, those arriving after that date are deportable. These latter unfortunates have been faced with two grim alternatives: either to obey the law and register, on the doubtful possibility that Congress will enact curative legislation legalizing their residence, or not to register and thus risk the stiff penalties involved. The Attorney General promised them a "square deal." Many groped, Hamlet-like, and postponed their decision until the 11th hour.

These cases presented perhaps the most delicate problems facing those administering the Act. Except for criminals or politically-non-grata aliens, the Attorney General could suspend deportation proceedings against the alien entering illegally provided he (1) was not racially ineligible for naturalization, (2) was of good moral character, (3) had citizen or legally-resident alien dependents who would suffer "serious economic detriment" should he be deported. Were the Attorney General to suspend deportation he must so advise Congress. The alien's residence would become legal if Congress adjourned without disapproving such suspension. Liberals felt that the Attorney General's pardoning power should be extended.

What of the Alien Registration Act itself? Proponents stoutly affirm democracy's most basic right is to defend itself against its enemies, and when mysterious explosions recur in American powder plants one is reluctant to disagree. Pointing



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out that peacetime alien registration has long been an accepted procedure in Europe, the Act's administrators declare:

> It is logical that the United States Government should know who and where its non-citizens are and what they are doing. . . . We shall have a valuable master file of information that will help us understand the human and sociological problems of the American alien. . . . If the Alien Registration Act does nothing else but stimulate loyal non-citizens into becoming citizens of the U. S., its enactment will have been justified. . . . It has introduced a long-sought improvement in our immigration laws . . . a link between citizens and non-citizens for a more effective national unity.

On the other hand critics of the Act, vociferous at the time of its sudden enactment, objected less as time went on. Possibly public inertia, the swift passage of the Selective Service law, the humane administration of the Act as well as the widespread cooperation it elicited, made resistance seem pointless. Yet some did protest. The Chief of California's Immigration and Housing Division admonished "To enforce the Registration Act and punish its violators necessarily will involve regimentation of the entire population and establishment of a domestic passport system." Vito Marcantonio, the only Congressman speaking against the Act from the floor, charged that it was "blitzkrieged through Congress . . . those responsible for this atrocious rape of American institutions will next advance into legislation the doctrine of Aryan superiority, the Nuremberg laws and the concentration camp." Others warned of potential graft and blackmail; that the Act was a "step toward fascism." Eugene Lyons, editor of the *American Mercury*, insisted, "there is as much sense in singling out the aliens for fingerprinting and registration as there would be in singling out the left-handed or brown-haired." The *Christian Century* predicted ". . . they [the aliens] will be policed and watched by suspicious bureaucrats who are likely to be no more immune to witch-hunting among the innocent in a time of national excitement than are their counterparts in other lands."

Too many felt it was a "lousy law" but that since it was on



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the books it must be enforced. Eleanor Roosevelt among others thought registering everybody or nobody the only effective and democratic course. The less sanguine foresaw in alien registration a prelude to darker days ahead: the outlawing of minority parties and opinion, a ruthless annihilation of the labor movement, widespread compulsory oaths of allegiance and flag salutes—all culminating in a general carrying of passports, by all citizens, comparable to the old Czarist passport system. Professional patriots and Coughlinites lauded the Act. The Hoboes of America pledged themselves to be on the lookout for alien traitors.

Whether it was wise to register all aliens in order to trap the relatively few subversive agents only history, perhaps, can answer. Alien legislation as such may erroneously assume that the enemies of our heralded way of life are primarily non-citizens; yet the Act's realistic administrators instantly admit that more dangerous fifth columnists are likely to lurk among the native-born. They concede that yesterday's alien may very readily become tomorrow's Pilgrim Father.

To deny the alien "equal protection" of the law and simultaneously pretend he is defended under Constitutional amendments may be a kind of double talk. Democracy has difficulty in functioning when some of its basic safeguards are inoperative. If we must surrender democratic procedure and institutions in a crusade to preserve democracy we should be careful not to throw out the baby with the bath. Still, as part of a vaster picture, the legislation may be an altogether reasonable and necessary restriction. Some insist the alien roundup of 1940 constitutes no restriction. The danger may not be in the legislation but in a subsequent public opinion that would use the legislation as a springboard for alien-baiting. Many "impartial" lawyers and educators, seeking a "balanced judgment," uphold the Act because of the parlous times. "We must temporarily sacrifice some of our liberties in order to achieve a greater and more lasting freedom" they aver.

Still, the Act may prove the alien's strongest citadel. For-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tunately Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, Solicitor General Frances Biddle, and Director of Registration Earl G. Harrison are liberal, sympathetic and intelligent individuals. Ironically history has a way of placing administrators in ticklish positions that force them to make personally-distasteful decisions. Let us trust this will not here be the case. The Act may be utilized to "get" already-suspected Bundsmen (caught lying under question 15) just as the income-tax law was employed to convict otherwise difficult-to-convict criminals; the legislation may in this way perform a service in national defense. Thus far there has been little hysteria. Instead of dividing and weakening American democracy the Act should help solidify and fortify it. Yet for over sixty years the Congressional Record has been smeared with attacks on the foreign-born. Reluctant or unable to cope with domestic issues, callous Congressmen continue to lambast the defenseless non-citizen. One Senator confided that alien-baiting is "perhaps the best vote-getting argument in present-day politics." Our 1941 self-appointed Defenders of the Commonwealth differ little temperamentally from the fanatic anti-alien (and anti-Catholic) Know-Nothingites of the 1850's who persecuted German and Irish immigrants. Today it is a short step from anti-alienism to anti-Semitism. Journalists catering to popular prejudice, irresponsible Congressmen, racketeer patriots, xenophobes, flag-waving publishers, only help obscure an alien problem that might otherwise solve itself.

The intelligent citizen knows that aliens constitute merely 3.5 per cent of the population and that almost half are over fifty years old; even were *all* aliens deported, the unemployment problem would not be solved. Far from being flooded with immigrants and refugees, the reverse has been true in America during the past decade. When it comes to relief, literacy, standard of living, communal responsibility, crime, the alien's record compares favorably with the citizen's. Most aliens have lived here peaceably for many years. Because of racial restrictions, unfamiliarity with the English language or



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

institutions, the red tape in the naturalization service, inevitable postponements etc., many have neglected to become citizens. Today they are stampeding to become naturalized—and this is in some ways an unhealthy trend.

The anti-alien virus itself is contagious. Never over-fond of the foreign-born, the *Saturday Evening Post* manifests the symptoms anew when it publishes an article misleadingly entitled "Alien Poison." This great American institution overlooks St. Matthew's precept, "I was a stranger and ye took me in." *Collier's*, another leading creator and reflector of opinion, dismisses aliens as "too dumb to plot against anything." Bernarr MacFadden's *Liberty* doesn't like aliens.

The word "alien" has been ingrained in our folklore as connoting a hostile intruder. Possibly there has always been something sorrowful about the stranger.

> Perhaps the self-same song that found a path
> Through the sad heart of Ruth when, sick for home,
> She stood in tears, amid the alien corn.

In an era when ruthless force has swallowed up nation after nation the modern wanderer, homeless on a spacious planet, drifts between two worlds: the old one casting him out, the new one denying him admittance and the right to live. If America is truly the stronghold of this new world she must not only treat the aliens in her midst with the humanity she would herself demand for her citizens, but show compassion to the excommunicated of other lands as well.

Many will call this unrealistic poppycock. Yet—however stubborn the facts—is it too much to ask for a perpetuation of America's tradition as a merciful host? Certainly this American Dream is not inconsistent with the doctrine of the Rights of Man that so strongly influenced the framers of our Constitution and made them safeguard "persons" instead of merely "citizens." Shall we never have a peaceful world, one in which no human being will be branded alien—a world that knows no stranger?



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# These Glorified Reptiles, Birds

CHARLES I. LONG

SOME sixty million years ago a bizarre freak, partly bird and partly lizard, left its imprint in the limestone of Bavaria. This creature had a reptile's skull and jaws that sported teeth. Its backbone of many simple vertebrae was only slightly modified to permit attachment of inefficient pelvic and shoulder girdles. Supporting its abdominal region was a set of ventral ribs such as are found in certain reptiles including the modern crocodile. On the ground this Mesozoic creature was a biped, in the trees it clambered on all fours, in the air it volplaned less like a bird than like a flying squirrel. Its whole skeleton proclaimed its lizard kinship but something had happened to the scales that should have clothed its body. They had lengthened and frayed into feathers so that it was no longer a mere pygmy dinosaur but a reptile glorified, a bird.

Like most innovations this upstart needed improvement. His skeleton was much too loosely knit to provide good leverage for his feet and wing-like arms, and the long tail with feathers springing from its side like the leaflets of a fern frond must have been a clumsy structure, especially during flight. Yet despite his crudeness he was endowed with possibilities his descendants have made the most of, until today the line of Aves he begat has about reached the physical limits of his tendencies.

In modern birds the first great improvement over the inadequacies of Archaeopteryx is to be found in the skeleton, of which the most conspicuous features are rigidity, lightness and compactness. These features have been attained through the maximum fusion of bony parts, the elimination of all unnecessary structures and the adaptive modification of every portion of the body. The tail of the Jurassic Archaeopteryx, for instance, has been reduced from twenty separate bones to com-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pressed vestiges of only six, surmounted by a pygostyle. This bone is the remnant of four or five which are separate entities in the embryo only, and for a mere fleeting period, before they fuse completely into one. The function of rudder, the only excuse for a tail in a flying animal, has been taken over by the tail feathers attached to the pygostyle. These light, manageable structures are far superior to a heavy, unwieldy tail of bones.

Profound alterations have also occurred in the pelvic region of the backbone, just anterior to the tail. In Archaeopteryx this region was represented by two feeble vertebrae to which a flimsy hip was attached. The synsacrum, a modern structure peculiar to birds, did not exist. This device is the result of the complete fusion of the two lumbar vertebrae of Archaeopteryx with five of the tailbones and five or six of those located in the "small of the back." All of these bones are solidly fused not only with each other but also with the pelvis. Out of all this fusion has emerged a firm, rigid framework known as the synsacrum, functioning as a strong support for the landing and takeoff gear, the feet.

In the shoulder and chest region there has also been considerable fusion and interlocking of the vertebrae that were free in the Jurassic lizard-bird. Thus from the base of the neck to the tip of the tail the skeleton of a modern bird forms a rigid framework in which bodily movement, even at the waist, has been reduced to zero. The only movable parts are the arms and legs, the neck and tail.

The one compensation for all this fusion and rigidity, and a very successful compensation, is the extraordinarily long and mobile neck, gained through the retention of a large number of separate vertebrae and the development of elaborate articular surfaces on them. Thus, although the entire body is inflexible, there is no difficulty in turning the head through a complete circle, in reaching any feather of the body while preening, in capturing food by means of rapid thrusts of the head in any direction, or in weaving nests.

Primitive animals have five fingers and five toes. But birds



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are a long way from the primitive and even as long ago as Archaeopteryx had lost two fingers and one toe. Nowadays, its thumb and middle finger reduced to useless stubs, a bird depends upon his index finger and the fused bones of the palm to support its pinions. Separate wristbones and anklebones no longer exist; they would provide points of useless movement. Only for a brief time in the embryo do all these bones and all five toes and fingers appear, like dim and shadowy reminiscences, before they fuse or disappear entirely. (To be exact only four fingers have ever been discovered in the embryo of a bird but the fifth is implied by the presence of the wristbone that normally articulates with it.)

The enormously developed breast muscle, and the bony keel for its attachment, are, aside from feathers, the most conspicuous structures developed by the bird primarily as organs of flight. For it must be remembered that the most important muscles of flight are not those of the wing, as might be supposed, but rather those of the chest. The wing is not lifted by the arm or shoulder muscles so much as by those of the chest, pulling downward. Through an astonishing pulley system the large breast muscle passes as a tendon through an opening in the shoulder region and is fastened to the upper portion of the humerus. In this way leverage is increased and the center of gravity is shifted ventrally, like the weighted keel of a sailboat.

Weight reduction is as essential to flying as rigidity. This has been achieved in birds in a number of ways, one of them the improvement of the reptilian legacy of hollow bones. All the larger bones are hollow, made feasible in a way that would be least expected—by the retention of the old reptilian type of blood corpuscle. In ordinary animals, such as a man, a dog or a horse, the red corpuscles lose their nuclei by the time they enter the veins and arteries. Consequently they cannot multiply and are probably not so long-lived as ordinary nucleated cells. Since they are constantly breaking down there must be an adequate replenishment to prevent anemia and the marrow of the bones is the principal site for their production. In birds, on the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

other hand, the corpuscles retain their nuclei and can therefore multiply in the bloodstream. Doubtless they are also longer lived. The marrow is not necessary, consequently, to maintain sufficient blood cells, and its absence is an aeronautical advantage for it makes light, air-filled cavities of the large bones.

The pelican sailing serenely on the bay can afford to be nonchalant for his hollow bones are of paper weight, and large air reservoirs connecting with them and permeating all regions of the body give added buoyancy. His whole body, moreover, is enveloped in a layer of air bubbles—an extension of the main air sacs—so that he could not sink if he wanted to. Even a dead pelican must be weighted down with bricks to keep it submerged in preserving fluid.

Such air sacs, typical of all birds, not only reduce the specific gravity of the body but also serve an important function in flight. An ordinary creature would lose its breath after a few minutes of the exertion habitual with a swift or swallow. Their phenomenal activity depends upon the unique action of the air sacs. With each upward stroke of the wings, pressure is released from the chest and the lungs expand automatically. Air rushes not only into them but through them into those reservoirs, the air sacs. With the next downward stroke of the wings the chest is compressed and the air from the lungs is forced outward; but even while it is being expelled its place is taken by the air coming from the reservoirs through a special set of tubes. In this way the lungs receive a supply of fresh oxygen with every exhalation as well as every inhalation, so that the bird is incapable of losing its breath in flight. With this constant flow of oxygen, metabolism is speeded up, translating rapid combustion and equally rapid removal of carbon dioxide into the tireless muscular activity of flight. Without these air reservoirs, the specific gravity of the body would be increased and at the same time breathlessness and muscular fatigue would seriously curtail the power of flight.

The enormous amount of energy expended in flying requires such a large and constant supply of fuel that if the digestive



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

system were not specially modified to meet the demands of flight the efficiency of a bird as a flying machine would be greatly reduced. The speed of digestion, that is to say the efficiency in converting food into available energy, is only half of the solution, however; the elimination of waste, if it were as lethargic as it is in men and dogs, would be an impediment for it would entail the retention of excess baggage in the form of heavy, bulky faeces. But in birds, rapid digestion is correlated with a shortening of the intestine and a consequent minimizing of visceral weight; likewise frequent defecation prevents the accumulation of heavy, useless waste matter. The miserable filth of the dovecote is less a matter of bad manners than of good aeronautics.

If a bird were to have two functional ovaries, like its ancestors and most modern animals, the bulk and weight of eggs would be doubled. But since the days of Archaeopteryx and Jurassic lizards the right ovary has ceased to function. This, coupled with the retention of the reptiles' habit of laying eggs instead of undergoing long and burdensome pregnancies, has been much to the advantage of the race that claims the air. A helpless baby in a nest is far more appropriate for a bird than a heavy, bulky foetus in a womb.

Although a man's eye is an organ to marvel at, it is a poor makeshift in comparison with that of a bird which, in relative size alone, is the greatest in the world, occupying a space in the skull as large as the bird's entire brain. Through its remarkable faculty of instantaneous change of focus it partakes of the dual functions of microscope and telescope. A chicken picking up a grain an inch from its eye can in the flash of a moment recognize an enemy hawk so high in the air it is a mere speck in the blue. A wood warbler feeding upon minute insects hidden among the leaves of a tree can suddenly dart through the network of branches without colliding with one of them. The tern that hovers above the ocean, or the hawk high above a field, can locate its prey and plunge upon it, seize it and carry it off as easily as we would pick up a book from a table.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Not only is a bird's eye capable of incredibly quick change of focus. It is highly efficient in other ways. What man, for instance, riding without goggles at forty miles an hour could compete with the dove that habitually travels at such a rate? The wind would soon blind him with tears. But in the course of avian evolution that old reptilian asset, the nictitating membrane, has been perfected as an automatic windshield. This transparent membrane, sometimes known as the third eyelid, is drawn across the eye during flight, so that there is no need for protective goggles.

All these adaptations are common to all birds, forming the ground-plan of an anatomical compromise between the demands of life on land and in the air. The basic requirements of this dual life have been met primarily by the divergent specializations of the fore and hind limbs—the wings for flight and the feet for walking. But when a third function is imposed, such as an alternative life in water or in trees, adjustment becomes more difficult and demands the partial suppression of one of these functions in favor of the other two. In grebes the combination of expert swimming and flying is gained by the almost total sacrifice of efficiency on land; woodpeckers that can fly and climb well are clumsy on land and helpless in water; larks that can fly and walk expertly can neither climb nor swim. In only such a relatively generalized type as the gull have the abilities to swim, fly and walk been about equally developed but because of this versatility he is a typical jack-of-all-trades. As a swimmer he is far inferior to a grebe, as a walker he could never compete with a quail or roadrunner, and as a percher he is humbled by the merest robin or canary. His best accomplishment is flying, but even in that he has not attained the mastery of a hummingbird or albatross. Success, whether it be anatomical or professional, seems to be gained only through the suppression of all secondary interests. Irrevocable choice and renunciation seem to be the necessary steppingstones to progress.

To the fundamental pattern each avian order has added



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

structural refinements appropriate to special, limited conditions and habits, and the families within these orders have improved the details still further. Most of these differences in birds are external, such as the development of webbed feet among ducks, long bills among hummingbirds, stiff tail-feather props among woodpeckers, rictal bristles about the mouths of flycatchers to help entrap flies, sharp claws among hawks and broad mouths among swallows and whippoorwills. But discernible in some of these external variations there are certain evolutionary trends and principles that people often overlook. The position of the feet is one of these.

The feet of that confirmed pedestrian, the chicken, are placed approximately under the center of the body and moderately far apart. This is true of all birds that spend most of their lives upon the ground and to a somewhat lesser extent of the tree-living species such as thrushes, orioles, warblers etc. On the other hand a freshwater duck, such as a mallard or teal, has compromised between life on land and life in the water. Any boatbuilder will tell you the most efficient locomotion in water is achieved from a propeller placed at the rear. But ducks have taken to water with a lingering glance toward shore. Consequently they are real experts on neither. Their feet are farther toward the rear and farther apart than an ordinary bird's, it is true, but the result is only moderate, rowboat performance in water and a clumsy waddle on land. The center of gravity has been so shifted that the duck must compensate for this shift by assuming an awkwardly upright posture on land—an embarrassing price for increased aptitude in water. Although fresh-water ducks have taken a step in the direction of aquatic proficiency they have left the attainment of real mastery to other species. They are the adequately mediocre—from a biological point of view a form of perfection—but they have not attained those physical limits which perfection in the narrower sense implies.

The sea ducks, however, such as the surf scoters, have advanced a step in aquatic adaptation, perhaps because the rough



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and tumble of the sea has more relentlessly weeded out the merely mediocre. The feet of these black divers are placed still farther back than on the fresh-water ducks. Consequently on land the birds are even more clumsy and upright (posturally) than their pioneering kin but in their favorite habitat, the surf, they are far more expert.

Grebes and loons, however, make even a scoter look like an amateur. They are not content with diving under the surf and coming up some few yards away but demand the speed and agility of the fish they chase and capture under water. This they have achieved, but at the price of almost complete helplessness on land. As a penalty for their prowess these marvellous swimmers are doomed to eternal crouching. Their knees are permanently flexed, with the thighs drawn up close to the body as a man's are when he squats flat-footed on the ground. The skin of the body completely encloses the leg down almost to the very ankle. The feet are held at the extreme rear of the body and no more than a half inch apart. On land, therefore, the bird must stand awkwardly erect on the soles of its feet, its knees drawn up against its chest. The advantage gained in swimming ability, on the other hand, is enormous, for the propelling power is concentrated at the most posterior point of the body, where it is most efficient. A loon or grebe stands in relationship to a duck as a speedboat does to a rowboat. All three, the loon, the sea duck and the fresh-water duck, exemplify the rule that the degree of swimming skill is indicated by the position of the feet and the consequent degree of erectness of posture on land.

Other interesting structures related to aquatic adaptation in birds show similar gradations commensurate with the degree of swimming ability. For instance the breastbone of swimming birds becomes increasingly broad and boatlike while the pelvis tends to become narrow, bringing the widely-separated, oar-like feet of the duck together in the propeller-like position of the grebes and loons. Here again the surf scoter stands intermediate. The narrowing and relative weakness of the pelvis is,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of course, associated with the fact that a broad, strong support for the feet is no longer needed if the body is customarily supported by water.

Birds specializing in running and walking show tendencies opposite to those of the swimmers. They always develop their running ability at the expense of flight, whereas aquatic birds have, with few exceptions, managed to perfect their swimming apparatus without jeopardizing their flying ability.

The whole fowl tribe, including chickens, pheasants and quail, are good runners or walkers. And the better runners they are, the longer their legs and the broader the supporting pelvis. (The ostrich is an embarrassing exception. The very bird that theoretically should have the widest pelvis has an inexcusably narrow one. Furthermore the same tendency toward the reduction of toes that marks such cursorial animals as horses and camels is paralleled in the case of the ostrich, which has lost all but two of its toes.) Contrary to the trend found in swimmers, the breastbone of the running birds is narrowed (except, again, in the contrary ostrich). Running birds, moreover, like their mammalian counterparts, inhabit open country and have developed an extraordinarily keen, long-range vision for the detection of enemies.

Among such ultra-fliers as the swifts, hummingbirds, hawks etc., the tendencies characteristic of the earth-walkers are reversed and we find wing power developed at the expense of "footage." It must be remembered in this connection that the part commonly supposed to be the leg of a bird, i.e. the scaled portion revealed when the bird is standing, is really the sole of the foot. A bird walks on its toes; the sole of the foot is the vertical portion and the leg proper is hidden under the feathers with only its lower portion visible in the living bird. The toes suffer no particular degeneration in the masters of flight. Those of the hummingbird, in fact, are relatively large and capable of grasping a twig firmly. The hawks show a shortening of the foot and a well-developed grasping power in the toes. On the breastbones of all the flying experts there are deep keels



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the attachment of the all-important pectoral muscles, and a strong furcula, or wishbone, to aid in the support of the shoulder.

In the true arboreal birds the development of the feet for climbing and perching occurs without any sacrifice of flying ability. The tendency has been toward the reversal of the outer toe so that it points backward. Cuckoos show this trait and the road runner of the American Southwest, although he has taken to the ground and assumed such typical cursorial traits as a lengthened foot and reduced wing power, proclaims his arboreal, cuckoo ancestry by the same telltale characteristic. The macaw in the pet shop window advertises his love of trees by the way he grasps his perch, two toes forward and two toes backward. Other arboreal birds, such as the kingfisher, show a fusion of the three forward toes (with an effect of two-toedness similar to that of the tree-loving chameleon).

The feet of such birds as robins, sparrows, mockingbirds and warblers are compromises between the running and strictly arboreal types. Whether the bird is walking or perching the flexible toes function well but without extreme adaptation to either function. For instance the quaint gait of the Brewer blackbird is caused by his flatfootedness (or more properly, flat-toedness). This bird is relatively clumsy in comparison with the chicken or quail whose toes automatically draw together as the foot is lifted, thus eliminating the danger of striking the toes together or stubbing them against the ground. Sparrows and jays compromise by hopping short distances; thrushes and thrashers by running a few steps. In trees these birds have no difficulty but neither do they have the highly developed grasping power of a parrot or a cuckoo or a woodpecker.

The list could be extended indefinitely. But every detail in the structure of a bird is only a special example of the same dramatic urge to growth and improvement that exempts not even man. Though they follow it to their own destruction, constant refinement of adaptation is their role as well as ours. There is no turning back even if the attainment of perfection



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

spells doom. The glorified reptiles have gone too far for their own good, for their reservoir of adaptability has been drained and they now possess very meager means for circumventing new conditions. All perfections die out sooner or later, only to pave the way for new perfections of a different sort that will in time repeat the suicidal process of specialization. The ultimate end of all organic evolution appears to be the adaptive paralysis of the race. Birds are now at the peak of their development. Will man be as successful in his culmination as they? Will he be able to circumvent the dangers of annihilation inherent in the goals he seeks? Who knows? Perhaps by the time the stars have shifted their positions and birds have reached their ultimate fate, men will have become supermen or, through wars, neuroses and sterility, will have ceased to be at all.

## Indian Summer

EDWARD WEISMILLER

The wind will hardly blow lest this be over,
Over and gone, the tame leaves cradled down,
The brown leaves turned to gray, and back and over
The blue hills turned to brown.

Smoky and warm the gold sun shines forever,
Always the same gold riddle spells the sky;
The wind will hardly blow, that blew forever,
Lest the gold sun blow by.

Now man himself, enchanted and uneasy,
Moves in a dream from which he cannot wake.
He gropes through leaves for naked branches, easy
To grasp, to tear, to break:

Though winter come thereby, yet he must conquer
This golden spell. He must go wild, go free;
Time, time that he spent his life to conquer,
Something has conquered. And it was not he.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# There They Stand, the Yankees

STEWART H. HOLBROOK

IT WOULD be a bold man who would make a flat and inclusive statement as to what New England Yankees think of the rest of the country—bold, and as ignorant of the subject as a yearling bull in the remotest pasture of Coös County, New Hampshire.

Yankees are calm people, at least outwardly, and also are doubtless as opinionated a folk as can be found north of the Mason and Dixon line. But their opinions are very complex, are more often felt than spoken and are never dramatized.

Shortly after the hurricane of September, 1938 I spent a week in the devastated areas of Massachusetts, Vermont and New Hampshire. Timber of pulpwood size—an important cash crop in New England—was strewn everywhere. I talked with farmers, owners of the windfalls. One felt "the gov'ment" ought to come right out to his place at once, log the felled timber and pay him a spanking good market price. I talked with fourteen others. Without exception they didn't want any "gov'ment monkey business" at all; they felt they had the situation well in hand.

None of these men, all of whom had been hard hit, felt in the least sorry for himself. A few did curse mildly at Providence, if that was who "sent this goddam wind," and one seemed to think the wind itself had somehow been the result of machinations on the part of the current administration in Washington, D. C.

Of dramatics there was none. Here was the almightiest wind to hit New England since old William Bradford recorded the big one of 1635. Death and destruction had been on a scale almost the equivalent of that in San Francisco's quake and fire,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

but you would not have guessed it from anything the Yankees said. Typical, and more amusing than most, was the comment of a friend of mine, an old-line Yankee of Vermont. He and I walked out to his sugar place to view the 700 old maples that had been blown down. I tried to think of something appropriate to say but the best I could manage was an inane remark about its having been a big wind. My friend eyed the maples he had known since boyhood, now useless as sap-makers. Then he spat contemplatively. "Well," he said, "she wa'n't no zephyr." He then told me he was trying to figure whether to put the wrecked sugar place into cordwood or attempt to sell it as pulpwood. He hadn't even thought of assistance, from "gov'ment" or anyone else.

Well, there they stand, the Yankees. This spirit of independence is thinner in New England than it used to be even thirty years ago. Perhaps it is thinner everywhere in the United States. But the genuine Yankees are still the toughest-minded people we have and it is this spirit that influences much of their point of view and their relations with the rest of the United States. It is responsible for most of the Yankee's admirable characteristics and for practically all of his faults and shortcomings.

As a whole the Yankee envies no people of any part of our country or of the world. True, he likes to complain about his weather and if he is able he may run down to Florida for a few months in the winter. But Florida to him is nothing but a rather interesting and pleasant three-ring circus where it doesn't snow. He couldn't imagine anyone *wanting* to live there.

Yankee farmers work some of the toughest lands on the face of the earth. They hear about the rich soil and "easy" one-crop farms of the West. One of them may read that the Government pays billions of dollars in subsidies to Western farmers as well as to those in the South and he is mystified and a little dazed that such things can happen. Heavy sugar like that never came his way. Deep in his heart he doesn't want it to. Deep in his heart he thinks Government subsidies, like the WPA and other



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

new-fangled economies, are high-falutin names for plain charity.

"We still got poor farms, ain't we?" one Yankee said to me. "Then why in thunder don't we use 'em?"

That sort of thinking is "antiquated" in other parts of the country—a horse and buggy attitude. Perhaps it is. In any case I am not defending it. I simply want to make clear that that is exactly what hundreds, and for all I know thousands, of Yankees are thinking. It displays, too, another Yankee characteristic—his healthy distrust of euphemism.

The late Calvin Coolidge will scarcely be remembered for anything he did as President but he made one deathless remark. When asked about the possibility of easing the large debt of a foreign power to the United States he said, "They hired the money, didn't they?" In other words, the Yankee doesn't think that anyone, he or another, should get what he considers something for nothing. Extenuating circumstances? "That's another name for poor judgment." This may be, probably is, an admirable quality but it makes for hardness. Not for nothing was the main villain of many an oldtime melodrama a Boston banker. Still, there are few safer places for a widow's savings than a New England bank.

Smugness probably stems from the same source and that source is without question a feeling of self-righteousness. In varying degrees Yankees *are* smug. This smugness cannot be better illustrated than in most of Boston's stores and other places of business. It is very doubtful that worse salespeople are to be found than in the Hub's big department stores. You can, if you persist in spite of a vast disinterest, manage to buy something; but you will most assuredly learn that the stuffy person behind the counter isn't going even to simulate interest in you or in what you want. If it is granted that these underlings only reflect the attitude of their employers, then Boston's mercantile captains are smug also.

The Yankee's brand of smugness is more noticeable in Boston



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

than elsewhere in New England only because it is concentrated. It prevails in all six states, in urban and rural districts alike. It is likely, too, that some of the stuffiness in New England business and social contacts stems from a genuine shyness, a dread of seeming "forward," carried to ridiculous extremes. And because of his ingrained smugness and shyness the Yankee fails to respond socially as do people in parts West and South.

This makes for a real if subconscious feeling of isolation, and the feeling is heightened of late years because the Yankee of old-line stock is currently a minority in almost every section of what was once his domain. Beginning with the Irish immigration of almost a century ago and continuing down to the most recent arrivals of Poles and Finns and Italians, New England's racial mixture has increased steadily.

The birthrate of the oldtime Yankee has declined; and Yankees have left New England by the hundreds of thousands. You will find them or their second- and third-generation descendants all the way from the Western Reserve to the ends of the Oregon Trail, where old Yankee family names are prominent in cities named, like Portland, Oregon, for familiar places.

This immigration and emigration have had a powerful effect on the Yankee who still lives at home. They have made him a minority in his native region. He has not, however, reacted to his situation in the manner of most minorities. I have yet to hear the cry of persecution from him, the howl of "unfair competition" or of envy. He may be no longer a dominating character, in the mass; but individually he is still tough in body and mind, probably as self-reliant a person as were his ancestors of Colonial and Revolutionary times.

But his toughness is now defensive, made so by the conditions he faces. Economically he has never known really "good times." If there was ever a boom era in New England it occurred before my grandfather was born in 1836. That is why Yankees are parsimonious when there is no need for parsimony. It is the result of what some learned man termed "accumulated mem-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ory." You do not yourself have to recall, in person, three centuries of toil and sparse living. If you are a Yankee it is born in you just as the color of your eyes is determined.

That is why New England considers the rest of the United States profligate—including its Federal Government. That is why per capita savings in New England increased even during depression years and why they are and always have been the highest per capita savings in the country. Back of it is the folk memory of the Erie Canal which first depopulated New England farms and villages and played havoc with all Yankee economy. Back of it is folk memory of grim climate and poor soil which, even in New England's rural heyday, called for backbreaking work and careful use of food and clothing. Back of it is memory of the loss of many industries.

I have Western friends who have visited New England. They have first of all noticed the stuffiness, the lack of spontaneity in casual contacts, the careful almost cautious overtures—if they could be called that—toward acquaintance or friendship. Next, my Western friends have noted parsimony—apparently well-to-do men carrying on business in shabby offices, with antiquated equipment, with their wives going out to dinner in old and dowdy clothes. "Is this a pose?" my friends have asked. It isn't a pose. It is the result of that accumulation of folk memory, a habit of making things do until they won't do any longer. Ben Franklin, or rather Poor Richard, would approve of it.

But this parsimony, plus an almost pathological resistance to change, has been fatal to a lot of New England industry and business. The directors of the great mills of Amoskeag, New Hampshire, for example, were fond of old machinery that had seen half a century of service and was therefore, according to best Yankee traditions, the kind of machinery to keep; and Amoskeag's directors continued to believe, until the bitter end, that print and gingham were just what American women would always want. They thought rayon and other new fabrics were just a rumor. In parts of New England it is still difficult to sell farming machinery driven by diesel or gasoline engines. Yankees



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

are going to wait until they are sure "it has come to stay." This is by no means general but it is most typical of old Yankees and has a bearing on the way they look at the United States.

The United States to them is a great, good and powerful country of which they are the essence—or rather they consider the United States to be the essence of Yankees that has flowed out of New England and spread to the Pacific Coast, hewing down the forests, building towns and cities, founding churches, schools, colleges and business houses, all to the great glory of the United States and to the local detriment of New England. By and large an eloquent Yankee can make out a pretty good case for this thesis.

That neither New England nor its people and works are so important to the United States today as they were to the United States a century ago goes without saying. The country has grown since 1840. But the Yankee shows little or no resentment. He is, in spite of millions of words to the contrary, basically a very tolerant man—I think the most tolerant in the Republic. His private opinion of the Social Security Act may be unprintable. (Social security to him is spending less than he earns and keeping the haymow and cellar filled.) His pronouncements on the rising public debt (previous to defense spending) would not do in the mails. He doesn't think much of the Federal Government's building dams and going into public utilities (in Vermont men took shotguns in 1938 and threatened Army engineers who had designs on a local river).

But if the majority of Americans want those things—well, he won't carry a banner against them.

In matters of geography the untraveled Yankee knows, in a general way, that the United States is bounded on the West by the Pacific Ocean. He may have read an article about current events in the South, the Midwest, the Far West. He may even attempt to show interest in those events. Down deep, however, he doesn't care in the least. His physical world is pretty much bounded on the West by Lake Champlain and the Hoosac Tunnel. What goes on in the foreign parts beyond may sometimes



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be interesting or amusing but is hardly important to his life and times.

At home, however, he is alert to all the issues of the day, extremely well posted on matters that may affect him directly. So far as local affairs are concerned he is the best citizen in the country. Because of his system of town government, with its annual town meeting, he is civically very conscious, considering it an honor to be elected town selectman and a duty to do the job well. The smaller New England communities get more good government for the dollar than any other places I know of. So the Yankee wonders dazedly at the apparently endless forms the Federal Government takes. If he can run his community without a lot of furbelows what's the matter with the rest of the country that it needs nursing along by all the alphabetical bureaus? Given a good Army and Navy, the Yankee feels he can take care of himself and his own and that the other parts of the Republic should do the same.

Dr. Claude M. Fuess, headmaster of Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts, was recently quoted as saying that Yankees are too isolated and are becoming "pathetic figures, furtive and even desperate, who dread the competition of everyday normal life." This is an absurd statement, but can be excused because although he has lived in New England for many years Dr. Fuess is really no better than a Polack since he was born in Waterville, New York—which is halfway to Buffalo which in turn, to real Yankee thinking, is right on the border of Outer Mongolia.

No doubt there are Yankees who are pathetic and furtive and even desperate, but not very many. Only the Mormons have equal or comparative backbone and the Mormons have their church to lean on whereas Yankees, in the memory of living men, have not leaned on any church and amazingly little on any government.

And when it comes to "the competition of everyday normal life" I shouldn't like to face competition any greater than that confronting the average Yankee farmer and villager every



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

morning as he arises at six or earlier in order to make both ends meet. In spite of this competition, which the Yankee has known for more than a century, he remains basically a genial man with a sense of humor—which is to say a sense of proportion—and a sense of dignity, two of the most valuable things any civilization can have.

Dr. Fuess, whom the late and profane Ethan Allen would doubtless have referred to as a damnable Yorker, is on firmer ground when he observes that the Yankee is slowly but surely disappearing. So he is and I know of no way to preserve him. Dr. Fuess thinks he should intermarry with central European immigrants and thus "regenerate the species." I think it is all right for him to intermarry with central Europeans, or with Laplanders. But this would not preserve the Yankee. The resulting strain might be, as Dr. Fuess believes and hopes, a better race. So it might, but it would not be Yankee. It might not be half Yankee or even one third.

I judge that in time the old-line Yankee will wholly disappear. His families become smaller with every generation. Death and migration continue to thin his ranks and the movement toward extinction will doubtless go on. In another century, or two perhaps, it will be impossible to discover an American who uses an "r" in words without that letter and who leaves them out of words that have it; impossible to discover an American who considers a man who eats butter on his doughnuts to be reeking with prosperity; impossible to discover an American who believes his legs were made to stand upon.

In the meantime the great and amazingly durable vitality of Yankee character will have contributed no little toward forming the New American, the American who is slowly evolving from a melting pot that has seemed to melt too slowly but which in reality is melting as fast as it should. Synthesis of character requires longer cooking than does the making of plastic. That tough, resilient, cold-courage base in the New American—if he has one—that will have come in no small measure from Yankee influence.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# China's New Weapon—Caricature

A. L. BADER

SEVENTY years ago, in America, when Thomas Nast was caricaturing Tammany in the old *Harper's Weekly* Boss Tweed begged his henchmen to ". . . stop them damned pictures. I don't care so much what the papers write about me —my constituents can't read, but they can see pictures!" Today, in modern China, the Japanese might well echo Boss Tweed's words. For one of the results of the present undeclared war between China and Japan has been the rise of a new and effective political weapon—Chinese caricature. Like Boss Tweed's constituents, millions of Chinese can't read but they can look at pictures.

In the past the great Chinese masses have been both ignorant and apathetic in political matters. Because of this, many an old China hand predicted the collapse of the Chinese National Government within a few months of the outbreak of the present war. The reverse has occurred. And though the European war has forced Far Eastern affairs to take a back seat in our newspapers, the Chinese are still fighting and maintaining a national solidarity surprising to those who predicted disaster. For the first time in years the Chinese masses are united against a common enemy. They know there is a war and that this time it is no mere petty civil war between rival warlords. Hundreds of thousands of them have been killed or wounded in it. They know whom they are fighting and why. And Chinese caricature has been one of the most effective agents in educating the masses and in keeping up their spirit. Everybody knows what a Japanese looks like. In particular, everybody knows what a Japanese soldier looks like. He has become stylized throughout free China. He is a squat, runty little man with a rising sun arm band and a strut that indicates



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a large sense of his own importance. He has huge projecting teeth, a scrubbing-brush mustache and large goggles. In fact he looks like an Oriental version of the old caricatures of Teddy Roosevelt. Sometimes he is depicted as brutal, sometimes as merely stupid, but he is always ridiculous. So long as a people can laugh they are not beaten.

Until a few years ago there was no caricature in China. There are several reasons for this. In the first place the Chinese racial genius has always been for the indirect, for suggestion, for compromise rather than for the outspoken from which caricature stems. Second, caricature demands freedom of expression. To caricature Chinese officialdom or its actions under the Empire would have been dangerous. If a powerful man "lost face" the artist might well lose his head. Even in recent times the role of the caricaturist has been difficult. Finally, caricature presupposes social and political consciousness in its audience. It flourishes best in a social and political ferment. And China under the Empire was heavy with years and somnolent. It was not until after the Revolution of 1911 that the full impact of Western ideas upon the East was felt. For better or for worse, and out of sheer necessity, old China began giving place to new. For thirty years there has been a clash of ideas and the effects have been far-reaching. An earlier China accepted the Mongol and Manchu invasions. "Heaven is high and the Emperor a long way off" used to be a popular proverb. Modern China has decided to fight. Out of this spirit Chinese political caricature developed.

Naturally the chief themes have been anti-Japanese. The very earliest caricature, crude and tentative, appeared in 1915 and was directed against Yuan Shih-k'ai, the President who tried to become an Emperor. Later, in 1926 and 1927, when the Kuomintang, the Chinese Nationalist party and Soviet Russia were fellow travellers for a time, there was a brief wave of Soviet-inspired caricatures and posters. These sank out of sight when the Kuomintang split with the Communists and moved to the Right. But in 1931 the Japanese took Manchuria.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chinese caricature was really born out of the national indignation caused by "the Manchurian incident." Three magazines appeared which printed nothing but caricature. Later the number grew to a dozen or more and the circulation of some of the magazines ran as high as forty thousand. Of course there were other subjects besides politics but the new art sold because it appealed to a growing feeling of nationalism. The price of the magazines was low and the artists' pay was poor. Most of the caricaturists held other jobs as well. But they were alike in possessing the enthusiasm of youth and in being *mo-teng-ti jen*, "modern men" who scorned the old type of scholar-diplomats and their policy of appeasement of the Japanese.

In 1937 they held their first show, the First National Exhibition of Caricatures and Cartoons, which toured the large cities, drawing big audiences and stirring up a great deal of interest. Old-school painters and scholars damned it in their own peculiar jargon as "a small means of cutting up insects" —meaning that it was a trivial art—but middle-school and college students came in droves. They looked, grinned and nodded. Young China took to the new art.

A good half of the pictures exhibited were anti-Japanese. At the time, the Chinese government was still pursuing its policy of appeasement and artists were forbidden to portray a recognizable Japanese face or to use the words "Japan" and "Japanese." To circumvent this limitation they resorted to symbolism. For example one picture shows a section of the Great Wall at Peiping. Through one of the large gates a gigantic snake is moving. The head and fore part of the body are well through the gate, coming down into North China, while behind the wall the body of the snake stretches in sinister coils over what used to be Manchuria, now Manchukuo. The title of the picture is simply "Coming Down." No Chinese needed a label on the snake to tell him it was Japan threatening North China after having gobbled up Manchuria.

Another in lighter vein is in the form of a series similar to our comic strips except that one reads from right to left in the

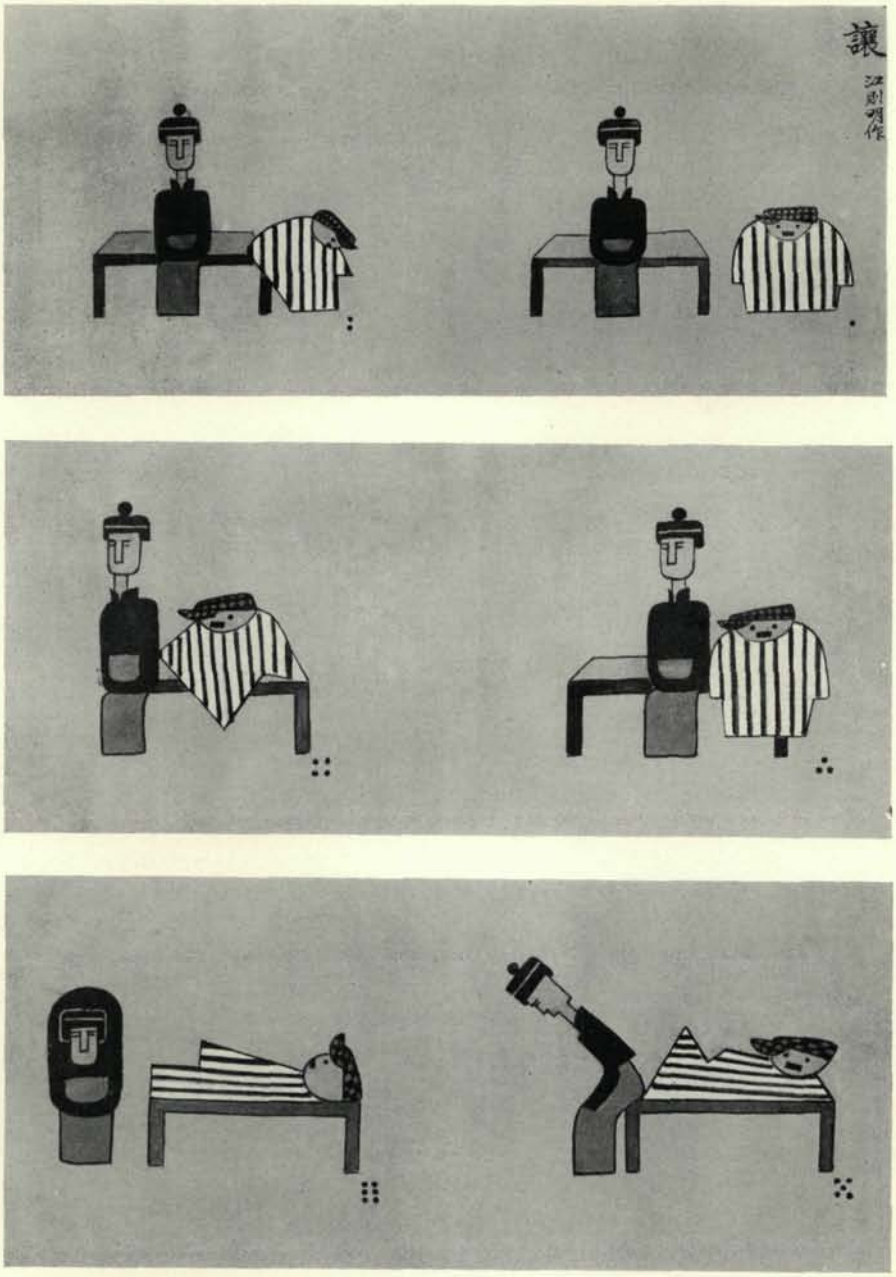


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Coming Down"

"There Is Someone in the House"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




"Yielding"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chinese fashion. The first picture shows a tall dignified figure, dressed in blue, seated in the middle of a bench while a short clownish figure, dressed in red and white stripes, stands by disinterestedly. These symbolize China and Japan respectively. In the second picture the man in red and white has gained a seat on the edge of the bench. In the next he has wormed over toward the middle of the bench while the man in blue, always polite and impassive, has had to move toward the farther edge. In the end the figure in blue is completely crowded off the bench and squats decorously and uncomplaining beside the red and white clown who lies down on the bench in complete enjoyment of his victory. The title is "Yielding," and the artist is warning his countrymen that if China continually gives ground and Japan continually takes, soon there will no longer be any China.

One of the subtlest of the pictures concerns Henry Pu-yi, puppet head of Manchukuo. Two Chinese stand on the balcony of an unsubstantial-looking house. One wears huge goggles that give him a frog-like appearance and has a long feather stuck in his cap. The other is dressed in the old-style gown and mandarin cap of Empire days. The title, "There Is Someone in the House," seems pointless until one notices that the front supports of the house are a pair of Japanese sandals showing the characteristic thongs between the toes. The meaning then becomes clear. The house is the unsubstantial Empire of Manchukuo, the frog-like person is the Emperor Henry Pu-yi and his companion stands for the decadent remnants of the old Manchu Empire which surround Henry. But the sandals symbolize Japanese control—there is indeed "someone in the house."

Not all the pictures in this exhibition dealt with Japan. Some attacked social and economic institutions within China itself. Child slavery, corrupt politicians, civil war and the warlords, the feudalism of the old Chinese system of land tenure, the foreign exploitation of Chinese labor and raw materials, served as targets for the caricaturists. One of the best shows two grass-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hopper-like soldiers fighting a duel upon the body of a gargantuan Chinese coolie who lies full length on the ground. Neither of the duelists is wounded; instead every blow falls upon the coolie beneath who bleeds in a hundred places. The duelists are the warlords and the coolie symbolizes the Chinese people who have suffered for years from their aimless and petty bickerings. Some of the pictures in this first exhibition revealed an unmistakable Left-wing tendency. There were also a good many anti-Fascist pieces, chiefly caricatures of Hitler and Mussolini.

The First National Exhibition marked the close of an era in Chinese caricature. During the early months of 1937 Chinese newspapers were still speaking of "a certain country" when they meant Japan and were putting quotation marks around the word "Manchukuo" as a silent protest against the seizure of Manchuria. They dared do no more. And the Japanese, with their usual lack of humor, were still talking of "Chinese insincerity." Both sides maintained a polite fiction concerning the real status of affairs between the two countries. When the exhibition of caricatures reached Nanking the Japanese Ambassador, a knowing connoisseur of Chinese painting, visited it. He was deferentially attended about the gallery by one of the artists and the pictures were discussed as interesting examples of modern Western influence upon traditional Chinese art. Both, in the words of an old Chinese proverb, "pointed a stag out as a horse." The political implications of the pictures were passed over entirely and the Ambassador bought several of the more outspokenly anti-Japanese as examples of modern Chinese art.

All this sort of thing came to an end in July 1937. The undeclared war broke out in the North and spread southward. Shanghai fell after surprisingly stout resistance, Nanking was taken and "pacified" with a barbarous cruelty which will always be a blot upon Japanese national honor, and the Chinese armies fell back from the coastal cities. Along with them went journalists, teachers, artists, intellectuals. The Chinese cultural centers moved inland. Many caricaturists joined the govern-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment propaganda corps. The magazines of caricature reestablished themselves in Hankow and Canton, while these were still in Chinese hands, and later in Chungking, the new Chinese capital. In 1938 the Communists and the National Government buried the hatchet in order to present a united front to the invaders, a move which brought many intellectuals of the Left into active government service. Then and there the lid was off on anti-Japanese expression of all kinds and a new era of Chinese caricature began.

The new caricature, in its direct statement, is on the whole more Western. There is less symbolism, less of the indirect suggestion formerly necessitated by government censorship. On the other hand it is much more realistic and powerful as an educative agent. There is a violence, a grotesquely terrible quality about some of it, indicative of the strong feeling of both artists and audience. In a struggle for national existence when violence is a part of daily life it is natural it should make its appearance in the arts. Also, new mediums have had an effect upon caricature. Today posters, placards and wall paintings are used by caricaturists in the government propaganda service. In fact the borderline between the poster and the caricature has been rather obscured. In free China today no patriotic meeting or parade is complete without huge placards, many of which are in reality caricatures. Posters and crude paintings mingle with the patriotic slogans splashed on walls and houses and again the element of caricature is present. Subtlety and ingenuity have little place in attaining mass appeal in such mediums.

The chief themes of the new caricature are Japanese brutality, Japanese imperialistic greed and the *Han chien* or Chinese traitors—those who aid the invaders. Japanese brutality is portrayed in innumerable grimly realistic pictures of death by bayonet, sword, bullet and bomb. Many of these can be called caricature only in the sense that Goya's realistic etchings of Spanish civil war are so called. Some are entirely without the distortion that is the hallmark of caricature; others show a grotesque distortion of face and figure to express fear, hatred,



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pain and rage. All, however, are calculated to arouse hatred of the invader.

More interesting as pure caricature are those which attack Japanese imperialism. Here symbolism is found in greater measure. An unmistakably Japanese butcher quarters a Chinese ox marked off into Manchuria and North, Central, and South China. A fierce dog, all whiskers and teeth, tries to swallow a large white bone labelled China—but the bone is too large and the dog chokes over it. Another dog, grotesquely human in a Japanese kimono, squats on the ground weeping huge tears. Before him lies a ceremonial knife. He is about to commit *hara kiri.* The title is "A Sorrow that Cannot Be Told" but the point of the piece appears in a legend in small characters: "The result of the invasion of China is only to disembowel yourself." Sometimes the Japanese sale of drugs to the Chinese is attacked and an imperialism whose weapons are the opium pipe and the morphine needle is satirized. Occasionally the artist recognizes what most students of Far Eastern affairs are inclined to stress: that the invasion of China is the work of a military clique who rule Japan and that the Japanese people, not wholeheartedly in favor of war, are compelled to support the invasion. In one such picture a small bent figure, supported by crutches, totters under the burden of an enormous military tank out of the top of which the head of a Japanese officer protrudes. On the tank the Chinese characters read "Seven trillion dollars to invade China." Just in front of the man on crutches the ground falls away with a sheer drop to the ocean far beneath. The title is "Walking the Road to Death." The man on crutches, of course, stands for the Japanese people.

Of all the recent caricature, however, the most revealing is that directed at Chinese who aid the Japanese invaders. This gives the clearest picture of the internal struggles of a nation with its back to the wall. To understand it one must keep in mind the peculiar position of China at the present time. Her chief coastal cities, river valleys and railroads are in the hands of the invader. Within the large coastal cities themselves are



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the foreign concessions, little squares of land wrested from a dying Manchu Empire, where even in normal times the Chinese government has no authority. In the Japanese-controlled areas there are of course Chinese who for one reason or another are willing to serve their conquerors. Some are old-time officials of former regimes, out of office and disgruntled. Others are merchants willing to turn an unpatriotic penny, coolies who must work for whoever pays in order to keep the rice bowl filled, and defeatists of various types. Meanwhile the foreign concessions offer refuge for those who will not take sides in the struggle. So far as the Chinese Nationalists are concerned, those who sell out completely to the Japanese, those who compromise and those who evade are alike *Han chien*, and there is naturally strong feeling on the subject among loyal Chinese who have sacrificed much to their country's cause. Hence there is a good deal of propaganda on the subject and the *Han chien* are a favorite butt for satire.

One type links past and present by recalling the famous traitors of old, the Benedict Arnolds of China, and refurbishing them for the times as a warning. Shih Ching-t'ang (10th century), who plotted against his Emperor until a dynasty was destroyed, appears as a villainous-looking hunchback. Ch'in Kuei (12th century), who influenced a Sung Emperor to kill the only Chinese general capable of defeating an invader, has a hawk nose and predatory talons for hands. Wu San-kuei (17th century), has a pig's snout and a leering eye. He deserted his Emperor and took the side of the Manchus.

Another type attacks the Chinese who serve as officials for the various puppet regimes set up by the Japanese in conquered territory. A Chinese Minister of Communications in one such regime plays on the floor with toy trains, boats and airplanes. That is the extent of his authority. A puppet Prime Minister reads what purport to be his own edicts in the Japanese-controlled newspaper. Having made no such statements himself he—like any ordinary Chinese—has to read what his superiors have decreed.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Different Roads but to the Same End"

The well-known Japanese propensity for elaborate and senseless espionage is also ridiculed. A puppet official lifts his bowl of rice and brings his chopsticks into play while a Japanese spy in the offing takes copious notes on this astonishingly dangerous move. Or again, a simple line drawing shows a large radio in the foreground with wires connecting it with a microphone in the background. A man in a Japanese kimono speaks into the microphone but his words are enunciated by a Chinese face which serves as the radio's loudspeaker. The face is that of Wang Ching-wei, once a Communist, a high-ranking rival of Chiang Kai-shek and "the handsomest of the Revolutionists" —now head of the new Nanking puppet regime and the most hated man in China.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

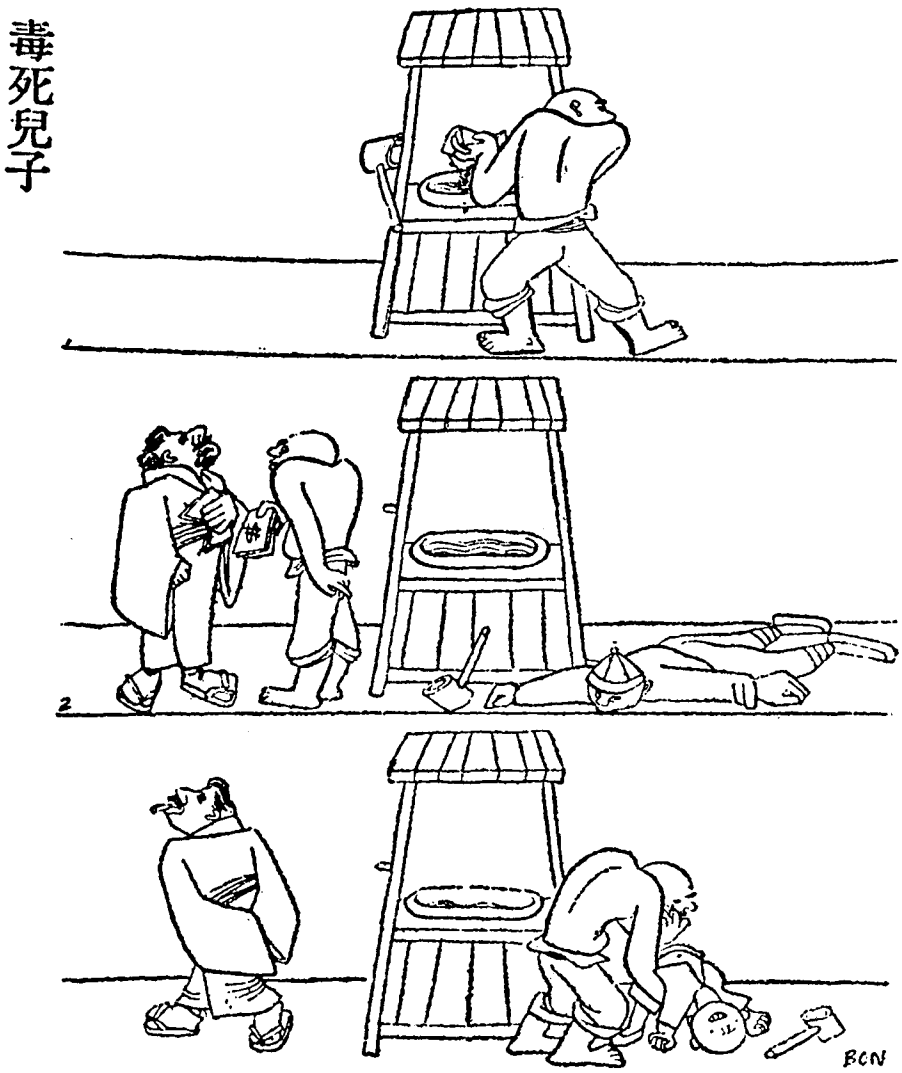
The rest of the Chinese traitor caricatures fall into no convenient classification. There are any number which depict what happens to Chinese civilians who welcome the invader with banners and rising sun emblems. They are drained of their money, worked mercilessly and then shot either by their Japanese overlords or by Chinese troops who retake the town and punish them as traitors. Nothing could exceed the grimness of many of these pictures. A variation on the theme presents the Chinese reaction to Japanese talk of a new "Pan-Asiatic" order in the Far East. In the foreground a Japanese soldier leads a file of Chinese civilians one of whom carries a banner proclaiming a Pan-Asiatic Association. In the background a drove of swine march to the slaughterhouse, guided by a swineherd. The caption reads "Different roads but to the same end." There are also many pictures concerning those Chinese who take money for aiding the Japanese. A Chinese poisons a village well and sees his own son die from drinking the poisoned water. A Chinese is hired to kill captured loyalists and is compelled to shoot his own father. In the light of the intense Chinese devotion to the family the latter are tragedies of the most awful type imaginable.

One full-page series of fifteen small caricatures is devoted to the different types of traitorous activity. Among them are pretending to be patriotic, profiteering, grafting on relief funds, contributing to relief funds but selling Japanese goods, taking refuge in foreign concessions, maltreating the poor, evading military duty, compromising, creating rumors designed to inspire fear, spending money on luxuries, conserving rice for the Japanese, defeatism. Chinese social stratification is interestingly revealed in the pictures. It is a merchant who profiteers, grafts and sells Japanese goods. It is a peasant who evades military conscription. And it is Chinese in Western-type clothing—the modern educated class—who put their money in foreign banks, flee to foreign concessions, live luxuriously and give up in defeatism.

The new artists have broken completely with traditional



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED




"The Poisoned Well"



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Chinese painting. Generations of painters have produced and reproduced the characteristically romantic work for which China is known—the traditional bamboos, plum blossoms, tigers, "bird on bough" pictures and *shan shui* or "mountain and water" landscapes. It is an old and beautiful art. No one can equal the Chinese in depicting the "inwardness" of natural objects, the living soul of things. And yet the old painting does not touch the lives of the common people. It is essentially an aristocratic art. Perhaps it is not unfair to say that in its conventionality and repetition of theme and motif it is also a static art. Already a new realistic painting has made its appearance beside the old, an interesting mingling of the traditional impressionism with Western realism. Chinese caricature is a part of the new movement toward realism.

As one might expect in the case of a new art there is a good deal of imitation of Western styles and technique. The new artists are feeling their way. In abandoning an old art they have also abandoned an old technique. The Chinese brush, the foundation of Chinese painting and calligraphy, has largely given place to the Western pencil, pen and water colors. And lacking traditional models in the new techniques, the artists have frankly imitated the West.

America has provided the strongest influence. Chinese caricaturists know and imitate Covarubbias, Grosz, Cotton, Gropper, Steig and many others. Obviously they know the old *Vanity Fair*, the *New Yorker*, *New Masses*, *Esquire* and *Ken*. The violence and heavy blacks of the *New Masses* are particularly favored in the most recent phases of Chinese caricature. Diego Rivera has many followers and so has the Englishman, Low. Occasional imitators of Klee, Jean Cocteau, Fujita and Dali and the Surrealists are to be found, although the more bizarre styles have tended to disappear before the realities of a war-torn world. The artists are trying primarily to make their meanings clear to the masses.

For the new art is above all else a people's art. Though Western in origin and at present imitative of Western artists



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it is no mere fad. Just how seriously the Japanese are taking the new caricature in China is shown by the counter wave of Japanese propaganda. At home the Japanese government has called in the leading caricaturists and told them explicitly that their work must "conform with the spirit of the times"—in itself an indication that the Japanese people are not wholly in sympathy with the present war—while in occupied China the paid artists of Japan have produced a flood of caricature and poster art designed to convince the Chinese people that Japanese conquest is good for them. Many of these pictures are an obvious attempt to counter the Chinese *Han chien* or traitor caricatures. To date this Japanese propaganda has been markedly unsuccessful; in the war of brush and pencil the Chinese caricaturists have carried the day. The popularity of their art is widespread. It has proved its worth as a political weapon and it is at the same time a sign of a new national consciousness and unity. The patterns of life are changing in modern China and an old people with a stubborn genius for life and laughter have not yet turned their faces to the wall.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# *In the Workshop*

## Musical Driftings

### A Statistically-Immune Estimate

ERNST BACON

In an age of energetic change such as the present, in which extremes are more in evidence than means, one may assume that a pronounced current in any one direction will induce considerable counter-eddies in another. Watching the general drift of America's music one realizes that, despite advances in many directions, the art, like society in Emerson's words, seems to "recede on one side as fast as it gains on the other. For everything that is given something is taken. It acquires new arts and loses old instincts."

Automatically the crown of music, once radiantly worn by Italy while seriously disputed by England and France, then carried in prolonged dignity by Germany and again temporarily lent to Russia, has now descended on us. Yet it rests unsteadily on the Yankee brow which cannot conceal ambition and misgiving in conflict, and may well lack background for the necessary easy assurance. As the latest of the arts to arrive, music's phases are clarified half a generation behind those of the other arts. Long after our letters, architecture and painting have discovered a simple yet educated American medium, music speaks today either in picturesque slang or in a badly garbled French or German dialect. Our composers, actuated by a justifiable zeal to match the nation's ambition with realization, have cultivated every known continental cliché or have, on the opposite end, essayed to express the very essence of America's personality aided by only a faltering musical rhetoric. The appropriative American mind has made oracular the names of Schoenberg, Hindemith, Stravinsky, Milhaud and Respighi: in fact has caused them to be better known here than abroad. Almost unknown, meanwhile, are the researches of Bernhard Ziehn (1845-1912) of Chicago, whom Busoni looked on as the foremost theorist of his generation; and until quite recently the experimentations of Charles Ives have passed virtually unnoticed. The learned studies in American folk music by Gordon of Washington, Cecil Sharpe of England, and later of Carl Sandburg have not influenced American composition until the last few years.

Instrumentalism has so effectively obliterated vocalism (witness the relative unimportance of choruses, the



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

meagre repertoire of *lieder* in concert, and the threadbare samples offered by publishers as respectable American song) that the basic importance of the human voice and of poetry in the formation of musical style has been virtually overlooked. One could almost predict that until American writers rediscover the vocal background of music (nearly axiomatic for centuries), with its fecund linear, prosodic, and tonal exactions, an authentic national art cannot emerge. Witness but the originality and effectiveness of much of our popular music and musical comedy, and conjecture then what might happen when more educated minds assail the problems of composition along parallel vocal lines. Perhaps MacDowell, not preeminently a writer of songs yet whose music was rooted in a vocal era, has come closer to an indigenous music than his successors. The undisputed present reign of the instrument symbolizes in a sense the intellectualism that has estranged the art from its simple public, that indeed sets the mind before the heart. Does not Leonardo say "The supreme misfortune is when theory outstrips performance"?

But an optimism and assertion are here that have been lacking abroad since at least the last war. A few of the odd extremes engendered by an admixture of this force with the well-tempered currents of the old world are here summarized as one person might see them—sketchily, unproven, and unqualified.

The private citizen in music is losing out to the institutional individual and his institution. Less important today are the troubadouric concert pianist (not, therefore, less able), the private teacher and the wandering singer. More power has come to the symphony conductor, the university music dean; more talents have sought the college professor. The independent concert manager has today no easy time of it, while the broadcasting potentate can speak of "his" artists and persuade them to share with him their rewards in unprecedented measure.

Professional music, despite an increase in the number of symphony orchestras and radio ensembles, has hardly gained in quality while the music of amateurs and students has grown notably in repertory and significance. Witness the complete disappearance of theatre orchestras, the lamentable substitution of nickelodeons and radios for the once so charming and responsive restaurant dance bands, and again the enormous enrollment of musicians in W.P.A. Contrast with this the growth of university orchestras, the many interesting college vocal and instrumental ensembles and soloists, and the stimulating amateur chamber and orchestral groups. Where, save in scholastic circles, will you hear Monteverde, Vittoria, Purcell, the Handel operas, the harpsichord literature, the countless songs of the greatest masters, regarding whom most of our distinguished concert artists are well-nigh illiterate? Compare the chronic disillusionment of the ablest



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of orchestral musicians with the cheerful and responsive attitude of students and college people. Alexander Meiklejohn once said "Universities and colleges are still the best thing we have." How many symphony players could speak thus of a philharmonic society? Or could anyone familiar with the policies, practices and official personages of the Federation of Musicians, however sympathetic toward its declared protective aims, be enthusiastic about its more recent accomplishments, knowing of the preposterous initiation fees and assessments exacted from even the poorest of unemployed musicians, the penalties of individual dissent from official policy, and the indignities suffered by the art's most distinguished exponents at the hands of its least educated and yet most forcible leaders?

In the presentation of works that possess new interest, whether owing to novelty or unfamiliarity, many schools show a spirited curiosity and initiative. They stand preeminent in the cultivation of national self-respect. Where else indeed does the educated American musician of today turn for that asylum once offered the artist by amiable merchants and princelings? And yet the qualities of amateur and student music developed under this guidance, as contrasted with the professional, have not as yet gained a deserved response from the musical public. Those who prefer the newness, charm and innocent freshness of a superior student to the tarnished virtuosity and musicianship of an overworked professional, who have penetrated the shell of the art and are concerned with motives rather than devices, are still few.

In this vast and not unfriendly academic world the Middle West may well lead today in orchestral and band music, the East may achieve the most in historical research and carry on a similarly vital choral and chamber music activity. The South is progressing rapidly, though its renaissance is the most recent. The West Coast, with perhaps the most exceptional musical resources of any section, seems, strange to say, the most conservative in its development. Recent vital and representative movements and individual attainments are to be found in diverse places such as the Cleveland Institute, Bennington College, Oberlin, Converse College, Smith College and Harvard, and the Universities of Iowa, Yale, Columbia, Wisconsin, Indiana, Colorado, Michigan, Kansas and California at Berkeley (to name but a few, and surely omitting others of similar or perhaps greater merit).

Meanwhile in professional realms a candid observer could scarcely say, aside from the radio, that metropolitan areas have done as well. New York City has shown few important new manifestations in recent years, nor for that matter have Chicago, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Detroit, Rochester, or even Boston (with fullest respect to that city's perennially great symphony). San Francisco has made symphonic and operatic gains along accepted lines, Los Angeles



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some, though less, likewise Minneapolis, Kansas City and Pittsburgh. The Cleveland area appears to have become one of the most vital musical centers, with an orchestra and conservatory of the highest calibre, lesser orchestras of quality, excellent choral groups, some outstanding university music departments, first-rate chamber music combinations, and an impressive array of musical personalities. There have been gains in lesser cities such as Denver, Birmingham, Miami, Salt Lake City and Buffalo, but here again one must ascribe the major initiative and support to colleges, the Federal Music Project and to amateurs. In the general picture of recent years it is the universities and colleges that have maintained the most distinguished activities in comparison with their resources.

Academic life has taken over some of the prerogatives of the conservatory; the latter has in turn added some academic features such as degrees and the more rudimentary courses in the humanities. Musicology has emerged, a near-science of the art and of its history. Colleges, as a natural magnet for scholars, have taken on refugees from abroad—and fierce discussions have arisen around the issues of the just apportionment of academic opportunity, with so many trained and capable Americans on hand. These discussions are less pronounced as one moves westward. Music-education has taken a large place in collegiate music, and has fortified itself legislatively in most states. Whether subject or method, example or imitation, intuition or intellectualization should prevail in the art of teaching, or whether indeed that art should become a "science," is a major argument, tempered little by any doubts as to the advisability of recruiting the largest number of the musically unpersuaded into the ranks of the factually informed.

It is hopeful that along with the seemingly inevitable further centralization of the arts there is also a move toward regionalism. Whether its advocacy in metropolitan centers is in part motivated by an ultimate intention to capture and exploit such developments, once they have achieved stature, one cannot say.

Goethe's remarks to Eckerman during the early 19th century, so perfectly—but negatively—illuminated by recent events, deserve some consideration by Americans of today: "If one were to assume that the unity of Germany consists in that the entire nation has one single court (*Residenz*), and that this one center would suffice at once for the development of individual great talents, as for the benefit of the great masses of the people; one were in error. . . . Wherein is Germany great but through an admirable culture of the people, which penetrates evenly all portions of the country. . . . Supposing we had had for centuries only the two courts, Vienna and Berlin, or perhaps one, I should like to see the condition of German culture. . . . Frankfort, Bremen, Hamburg, Lübeck are large and splendid, and their effect on the well-being of Ger-



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

many incalculable. But would they remain what they are if they were to lose their sovereignty, and were to become incorporated into some great German state as provincial cities? I have reason to doubt it."

The principal beneficiaries of regionalism, the artists and the public of the provinces, are less aware of this cultural counter-eddy than are metropolitans, and are seldom easily persuaded of its value. They generally look for guidance to the great city, which in turn realizes its periodic impotence as one after the other of its vast cultural aggregations shows signs of decay. That the finances of colleges rest in the various states and communities argues well for a continued regional endeavor—but the blindness of so many musical administrators to the human resources of their environment is shocking. Nowhere does one find more innocence regarding the manufacture and maintenance of the reputations of the musical *celebrati* than among college men.

Then again one is disturbed by this hungry tendency to "correlation" and "integration" in the academic arts. As if indeed one were handling bank accounts—granting to the students as few of the unsolved problems of inter-relation as possible, and never leaving to their own devices such teaching artists as fortunately exist in the midst of all this organizational frenzy. This correlation appetite extends into higher and intercollegiate spheres along with a taste for the imitation of every well-advertised educational wrinkle. Men and women are carefully prepared to "fit-in" the most circumscribed teaching positions. The final triumph will be when the army's system of "interchangeable parts" will have achieved the perfect human analogy in the realm of education.

Federal Music, despite an unparalleled wastefulness in many areas, did an important service in the generous rendition and preparation of American musical scores, which so often could get not even condescension from the conspicuously becitizenshipped European maestri and their patrons. Many Americans were given opportunity to exercise their conducting capacities. These preparations for higher musical honors, however, have passed unobserved as yet, particularly in the Eastern press which professes to be on the lookout for American orchestral leaders.

As predecessor to the federal art projects the E.R.A. some years back laid the control of governmental bounties in the hands of local county and state officials. The resulting political abuses were such as to warrant, at the time W.P.A. was organized, a federal control which appointed its own artistic officialdom, independent of sectional politics. This proved a distinct improvement over the previous system, and for a while an array of highly respected musicians was directing the program of rehabilitation and artistic production. But the necessary support of these men from Washington did not continue, and a lamentable decay of the institution



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

followed after its first bright achievements. In a few cities, notably Chicago, standards have remained high under a precariously unstable regulatory program. Doubtless, judging from the initial gain of the federal projects over E.R.A., a new plan of government-subsidized music might conceivably reestablish the value of the project, and even justify in the public mind a permanent policy of federal arts patronage.

The radio has been acknowledged the dominant pioneer in the dissemination of music and knowledge of the art. But, like all pioneers, it has pushed aside more than one valuable phase of a more primitive, earlier culture. While it has spread folk music abundantly it has decidedly discouraged its further growth, for today there are few citizens in even the remotest areas of the land who cannot experience the passive reception of sounds through a loud speaker; and men are simply not constituted to tax their imagination, memory, or voice when offered their own music, decorated and perfumed with the tantalizing arts of modern swing instrumentation.

As to the symphonic literature, familiar as never before through broadcasting, one may well ask these questions:

> Is broadcasting as nearly representative of the quality and sound of a work, and the occasion of its presentation, as is generally supposed?
>
> Is it desirable to subject great masterpieces to so many repeated performances, often by inferior groups?
>
> Are the circumstances of listening to broadcast symphonic music appropriate to its dignity and conducive to the earnest regard to which it is entitled?
>
> Has anything been gained by the fact that now (educational triumph!) fifty million people can identify the opening subject of the Fifth Symphony?
>
> Are the acknowledged gains of radio such as to justify the resignation suffered by all who have longed for the privacy and quiet that were accepted circumstances of even urban life before its invention?

When these questions are satisfactorily answered, we may grant that the balance between the benefits and the presumptions on human patience has been squared.

Professional opera has found shelter in the last generation only in the august confines of the Metropolitan Opera House (excepting the one enduring traveling company, the San Carlo)—and sporadically in certain provincial theatres, whose directors have generally hesitated to risk bringing out home talent for principal roles, and have therefore borrowed from the Metropolitan nearly everything but chorus and orchestra. Eastman's and Rosing's Rochester experiment in American opera unfortunately had too short a career to prove its far-reaching importance.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Since then a few colleges have essayed some performances of works suitable to more slender artistic and financial resources, and we owe to them the revival of numerous great and forgotten masterpieces, as well as the prompting of a few original works. The Metropolitan under its recent policy is unquestionably aiming toward a gradual Americanization of its musical stage through an increasing use of our language, singers and compositions.

One would think that the vitality of the American stage would long ago have urged the more widespread use of drama as an incentive to new music. Here again we discover a serious obstacle in the lack of realization on the part of the union of stagehands of how well their ends could ultimately be served through a little more cooperation with new, untried and sometimes unguaranteed projects. After all why should the musical entrepreneur, the singers, authors and stage-designers have to risk everything and the stage man nothing, as so often happens? As a result we see (not forgetting what motion pictures may have had to do in the matter) a national stage enshrouded in the silence of a ghost town.

The unending mechanization of life has long appalled artists and stupefied the more divining with a fear that its processes might penetrate the final recess of the spirit. The first blind admiration of the public for all the wonders of that mechanization was cause for even deeper pessimism. But when later the public commenced to be alarmed at the arrogances of machine control, awakened more recently yet by the desecrations of modern warfare, artists began to feel at least some faith in the ultimate reassertion of human principles. It is perhaps part of their vocation to react prior to the extreme limits of every swing of public realization. The days of speculation before 1930, so fantastically reassuring to most men and women, were to them a period of blackest outlook, a time when Butler's Erewhonian Fantasy of a people barely saved from literal slavery to a besouled machinery (through its complete abolition) was portentous in the extreme. In such a state of mind no art can come to life.

But today's reactions in the midst of warfare, the general realization of the need to preserve an inner freedom which requires at least something of a liberal external climate—these are comforting to the arts which nourish themselves (and music most of all) on motive and impulse, aspiration and courage. For the materials of the arts are not so much the inventions of the clever intellect as the assertion of man's dignity and his affections, and the inspiring realization of humility. And the artist's purpose is "not merely to satisfy the intellect, or supply something polish'd and interesting, nor even to depict great passions, or persons or events, but to fill him with vigorous and clean manliness, religiousness, and give him good heart as a radical possession and habit."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The American Scholar

# Forestry at the Crossroads

## The Problem of Privately Owned Timberland

A. B. RECKNAGEL

THE situation in forestry as it is today developing in the United States emphasizes a problem which must be resolved if the future progress in this profession is to be assured. The early decades of the forestry movement, especially during the administration of Theodore Roosevelt, gave a lively impetus to the acquisition of national forests partly from the public domain and partly by purchase. This program met with universal approval and national forests are now accepted as a vital part of our national life and as a prominent feature of rural economy, particularly in the Western states. Today they aggregate 173 million acres scattered throughout the 48 states and Alaska, excepting only New York, Maryland, Kansas and certain of the New England states where there are no large forest areas. Maryland and New York have adopted a policy of developing their own forests.

State forests, whose growth has paralleled that of national forests, and which have become an equally important part of the American scene, today constitute the large area of 9½ million acres.

Then too there has been a rapid development of community forests, a very old form of public ownership which has recently taken hold on the popular imagination in this country. At present there are over a million acres of timberland under community control, affording a first-hand contact with forestry to many citizens who live too far from the national or state tracts to make use of their facilities.

All in all the past 40 years have proved quite satisfactory for publicly owned forests, but these comprise only a fraction of the entire forest land of the United States. The outstanding forestry problem in this county is still its 341,000,000 acres of privately owned timberland, the achievements on which, despite the efforts of the federal and state forest services and the strong urging of many progressive citizens, lag noticeably as compared with those on state and nationally owned land. Figures recently published by the Forest Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture show that of the total of privately owned commercial forest lands only one fifth is under management, and of that fifth only about one third is under sustained yield management. Sustained yield, it should be explained, refers to land so managed as to at least maintain production in sufficient quantity for commercial operation. The other two



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

thirds of the private land under management receives a satisfactory degree of fire protection and such cutting practices as are necessary to keep the land productive although not at the level of sustained yield.

What then of the other four fifths? The statistics show that three quarters are at least partially productive. That is, the land bears timber either now or potentially valuable, without special effort on the part of the owner other than fire protection. The final quarter—some 58 million acres—is land not in productive condition, or "waste or denuded" land which probably cannot be restored except by forest planting.

A recent publication of the Department of Agriculture commenting on this situation says: "On millions of acres now bearing cordwood or second growth stands the forests must be rehabilitated—the growing stock built up and the composition improved. And in the last analysis sustained yield is the critical test of good forest management. It alone assures continuity of output, continuity of employment, and stable support for dependent communities and for forest regions. The problem confronting us as a nation is that of completing the change (already begun) from a philosophy and practice of liquidation to that of sustained production under management."

These statistics, the best ascertainable without a complete national forest survey, point clearly to the problem and have given rise to two definite schools of thought: the one which urges complete federal control of all private timberlands, either directly or through the medium of the state governments; and the other which uses, as the means to improve private forest management, cooperation through federal and state aid to timberland owners. These divergent viewpoints go back several decades. As early as 1920 Emeritus Dean Henry S. Graves of the Yale School of Forestry, during his incumbency as Chief Forester, defined what were called "minimum silvicultural requirements" in a series of U. S. Department of Agriculture bulletins; but these bulletins, despite wide publicity, were seldom put into actual use in the woods.

The clash of opinions could not be reconciled into support of enabling legislation. At that time two policies were before Congress: (1) the Capper Bill for strong federal control and (2) the Snell Bill for control by the states. Both bills failed. But a final compromise known as the Clarke-McNary Act, resulting from a Senate Committee on Reforestation appointed in 1922 and reporting in 1924, made cooperation the cornerstone of the federal policy of dealing with private timberland owners.

The decade which followed (1924-1933) showed substantial achievements in cooperation, although with the 1929 depression it looked as if the pressure for liquidation of private timberland investments might wipe out all the progress which had been made. The Franklin Roosevelt administration, immediately upon its



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

inauguration in 1933, addressed itself to improving the situation and, through the National Industrial Recovery Act and its instrument, the so-called "Lumber Code," formulated the famous Article X, in effect the first national conservation code applicable to private timberland owners. This was a tremendous forward step not only with respect to privately owned timberlands, but also to public opinion; it approached the problem from the point of view of self-regulation and invited all citizens to participate, either as members of the code authorities or as beneficiaries of the policy of industrial recovery. So far as the activities could develop in the brief time that the N.R.A. was in existence the progress was really phenomenal and, when the Supreme Court ended the N.R.A. in 1935 the conservation code was voluntarily continued by several of the former regional code authorities. Particularly was this the case in the West Coast states of Washington and Oregon, and also, to a considerable extent, in the South. Nevertheless, without the strong impetus of the N.R.A., this movement slowed down in most parts of the country and in some parts stopped completely. It was my good fortune to serve on a joint committee of public and private foresters to carry forward the recommendations of the two great national conferences held under Article X, and I can testify to the excellent spirit which existed at that time among timberland owners large and small and to the high degree of cooperation which was achieved by the regional forest practice rules adopted under the Code.

From 1935 on until the present it may justly be said that we have been marking time so far as a national policy applicable to private timberland owners is concerned. True, the aforementioned states of Washington and Oregon and, to some extent, the Southern states, have made excellent progress. But for the country as a whole there has not been a solution of the problem. What then can be done and what should be done?

At the 40th annual meeting of the Society of American Foresters in December 1940, Mr. Earle H. Clapp, Acting Chief of the U. S. Forest Service advocated complete public control to be exercised through the individual states unless they failed to enact satisfactory legislation, in which event the federal government would take over and regulate all private timberlands. The decision as to what is "satisfactory" would be left to the Secretary of Agriculture. This proposal is based on the premise that the situation in forestry is so urgent as to demand drastic action and that only by regulatory control can the necessary results be achieved.

The spokesmen of the other viewpoint answered with the argument that federal control is neither necessary nor desirable. As to its necessity, it was stated that each time a federal survey of existing forest resources is made the ratio of cut to growth of timber is brought more nearly into balance; that in the measurably near future growth of all forests will equal



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the drain thereon and, in the further future, this will be true of sawtimber as well as of the lesser sizes; and that, therefore, all the efforts towards regulation are rendered nugatory. As to undesirability, the argument is that cooperation has never been fully tried and, unless and until it is, the recourse to regulatory control is not justified.

Any timberland owner or operator, almost without exception, admits a heavy responsibility for the continuity of his operations to the end that all associated values may be maintained. However this same owner or operator will express doubt as to the practicability of forest management without adequate assistance from public sources, both in the form of monetary help and in legislation designed to equalize the heavy burden of carrying forest properties over long periods of time. Leadership in securing remedial legislation has been taken by the industry, particularly on the West Coast, and the progress in Washington and Oregon is distinctly encouraging.

Meanwhile the Joint Congressional Committee of the Senate and the House will report its findings in 1941 following a series of hearings throughout the country. What will result from their report and indeed what their report will be is still shrouded in uncertainty. That it will result in some concrete recommendations is obvious and the citizen at large may well feel that this Committee is voicing his views and representing his interests.

The successful example of Sweden would seem to point the way to a productive timberland achieved within the democratic pattern, although admittedly conditions there are not fully comparable with those in our country. The Swedish foresters are men of great ability and there is a public attitude toward forests in Sweden to which we have not yet attained; complete localizing of forest regulation there and the establishment of responsible local timber boards has resulted in a degree of forestry practice on private timberlands fully comparable with that on the state forests. If the technical ability of American foresters is adequate to meet the situation and if the public viewpoint can be educated to a sense of the importance of forests, then it would seem as if a reasonable solution along the lines of the Swedish example could be attained.

Some legislation will undoubtedly be needed but it might better take the form of the defunct Conservation Code under the N.R.A. than of any drastic measures. If the Congress will state general principles and permit the different states to legislate for themselves adequate progress could be made. But every citizen should inform himself and be prepared to assist through the educating of public opinion, whatever policy is adopted. In solving this problem of privately owned timberland all must share the responsibility as all will share the benefits of a correct solution.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# Discussion

## Brave New World

*To the Editor:*

Thank you very much indeed for sending us the December issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, with its exceedingly interesting article by Dr. Tang about "Chinese Universities on the March."

There are few places in the world, truly, where such dramatic history is being written as in present-day China. American scholars may rightly be proud of the part their Chinese brothers are playing in the brave, new world being built in free China.

B. A. GARSIDE, *Associated Boards for Christian Colleges in China*
*New York, N. Y.*

## A Poet-Philosopher's Research Problem

*To the Editor:*

The Winter number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR is excellent but the "Editorial" and "Life as the Guide of Philosophy" call for comment.

The troubles of the world today are too deep for superficial comment or to be properly canvassed in a letter to the editor, but certain aspects can be properly touched on in such a letter. It may be true that what we think about Hitler et al., though fresh today will very soon grow musty, but if there is philosophic truth in our thoughts, then they do not become musty. For instance Plato is not musty. Read, if you wish the details of the rise of today's dictators, the eighth book of the Republic. Plato was a philosopher and philosophic truths remain truths, whatever the contemporary trappings of events may be. However, Plato and the philosophers of the ancient world were half poets as well.

In the rise of science in the last hundred years our exploration has been largely confined to the physical world. We have gone on at an ever swifter pace making new discoveries and the philosopher has become half scientist.

In the enthusiasm of discovery, have we forgotten to consider control and mastery of our inventions?

In his presidential address to the British Association for the Advancement of Science September 1932, Sir Alfred Ewing spoke as follows:

"The Cornucopia of the engineer has been shaken over all the earth, scattering everywhere an endowment of previously unpossessed and unimagined capacities and powers. Beyond question many of these gifts are benefits to man, making life fuller, wider, healthier, richer in comforts and interests and in such happiness as material things can promote.

"But we are acutely aware that the Engineers' gifts have been and may be grievously abused. In some there is potential tragedy as well as present burden. Man was ethically unprepared for so great a bounty. In the slow evolution of morals he is still unfit for the tremendous responsibility it entails. The command of nature has been put into his hands before he knows how to command himself."

For example, the machine on the farm displacing animals has created problems that call for research, not by pure scientists but by poet philosophers with a leaning to economics, chemistry and so forth.

Our easier transportation, our increased sanitation, our lowered death toll, and hundreds of other discoveries and results of discoveries call for the metaphysical philosopher, the trained, poetic, philosophical imagination rather than the man of graphs, plotting results.

An army needs a general of imagination who can foresee the enemy's moves and forestall them. Plotting them on maps and charts afterwards is useless. They have happened. Our problems call for the philosopher who can foresee the results of our discoveries and forestall their evils, not for those who can relate and plot them afterward.

This, I believe, is what Dr. Richard Gummere means in saying that "The traditional subjects need to be handled more vitally and in fuller correlation with the world of action." We do not wish the scholar and the thinker to retire into the cloisters of serenity and stay there. Retire to think, come forth to do. We need the fruits of his scholarship, his correlation of history and economics, his knowledge of the past correlated with today's needs and problems, so vitally put that business man and workman, banker, lawyer and legislator will be interested to stop, look, listen—and learning, act accordingly.

GOODWIN BEACH,
*Hartford, Conn.*



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Tell Mr. Erskine For Me

*To the Editor:*

I have just read the two articles on poetry in your last number, by Babette Deutsch and John Erskine. I was furious immediately. Let me say my say too!

Those who talk among themselves, arguing, contending,
While the Epics of the Times pass them —still defending
Erudition no one wants, styles of words, or classes—
Scholars are. *Poets* thrive out among the masses.

I am not a "leftist" either. But certainly the literary Genius reflects Life, not books. A poet may or may not be a "scholar," but the scholarly crowd never allows him recognition until after he is dead, and they can "discover" him to their own glory. You can tell Mr. John Erskine for me that a great crowd of us are convinced that he wouldn't know a Poet if he saw one. There are plenty of poets about, if the "scholars" would allow them to be published. The out and out hack, and the learnèd man who says nothing, but says it well, are, *I think*, in the ascendancy at the moment.

RAMONA GRAHAM,
*Wellesley Hills, Mass.*

**THE BOOKSELLERS OF AMERICA HAVE JUST MADE THEIR ANNUAL AWARDS FOR:**

—their 'discovery' of the year
—their favorite novel
—their favorite non-fiction

**The National Book Awards are the guarantee of the Booksellers of America that you will find these books completely satisfying and thoroughly enjoyable.**

**Ask Your Bookseller to Show Them to You**

**AMERICAN BOOKSELLERS ASSOCIATION**
Members Everywhere



**OUTSTANDING PUBLICATIONS ON THE AMERICAN COLLEGE**

**Liberal Education and Democracy**—The Proceedings of the Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting, 1941. Addresses by Henry Luce, Count Carlo Sforza, Reinhold Schairer, F. P. Keppel, Theodore M. Greene, John W. Nason, Carter Davidson, Louis B. Wright, Walter Baermann. Annual Reports, Minutes, Membership, Constitution. (*Bulletin*, March, 1941.) $1.50.

**Bulletin** of the Association of American Colleges, edited by GUY E. SNAVELY. Issued four times a year. $3.00.

**The American Colleges and the Social Order** by ROBERT LINCOLN KELLY. An interpretative and critical study of the development of American colleges and college education which gives new perspective to the much discussed problems of higher education today. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

**Teaching with Books**—A Study of College Libraries by HARVIE BRANSCOMB. Association of American Colleges, New York and American Library Association, Chicago. $2.50.

**College Music** by RANDALL THOMPSON. Report of an investigation of non-professional offerings in typical selected institutions under a subvention from the Carnegie Corporation. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

**Comprehensive Examinations in the Humanities** by EDWARD SAFFORD JONES. Questions used in senior terminal examinations in the classics, English, modern languages, philosophy, art. Single copy, $1.25; ten copies, $10.00.

**Comprehensive Examinations in American Colleges** by EDWARD SAFFORD JONES. Report of an investigation. 434 pages. $2.50.

Descriptive circular including additional titles mailed on request.

*Orders for the above publications may be sent to the*

**ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN COLLEGES**
**19 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# About Our Authors

*Quotation marks usually indicate passages taken directly from autobiographical letters requested from the authors themselves.*

IRWIN EDMAN, member of the Board of Editors of *The American Scholar*, is perpetually interested in the contemporary and his soul (the title of one of his books, published in 1932) and is engaged in as constant an exploration of the many ways of philosophy as his catholic pleasure in music, poetry, teaching—not to list all the objects of his intellectual and esthetic affection—permits. He is a professor of philosophy at Columbia, book editor (for esthetics) for the *Journal of Philosophy*, author of many books, and *The American Scholar's* indispensable friend.

The précis about his life that E. MERRICK DODD most obligingly furnished *The American Scholar* reads: "After graduating from the Harvard Law School in 1913 I practised law in Boston for a few years. Since that time I have been engaged in the teaching of law at a number of universities, but for the last twelve years I have been professor of law in the Harvard Law School. In the summer of 1940 I became a member of American Defense, Harvard Group, an organization of Harvard teachers who are united in the belief that the American way of life is gravely menaced by the attempt of the totalitarian powers to achieve world domination. As a member of that group I was asked on two occasions to make speeches opposing the pacifist position, and in preparation for these speeches I endeavored to familiarize myself with American pacifist literature. I had previously acquired some knowledge of Indian and Chinese pacifism in the course of a brief visit to those countries in 1936."

Attracted by both the title and the material of BERTRAM M. BERNHEIM's book, *Medicine at the Crossroads*, *The American Scholar* asked the doctor to discuss the question which introduces his current paper. He is a graduate, both B.A. and M.D., of The Johns Hopkins University, a practicing surgeon in Baltimore and associate professor of surgery at the Johns Hopkins Medical School. His several books on medical subjects have been well flanked by numerous pamphlets. . . . Like his point of view on medical care for "long-suffering country folk," his research work has explored fresh fields—chiefly in blood transfusion and surgery of the blood vessels (he comments that he was "one of the pioneers of the early transfusion era").

ARNOLD WHITRIDGE has divided his academic life—in the matters of degrees and teaching years alike—between Yale and Columbia, but is currently Master of Calhoun College at Yale and professor in the Department of History, The Arts, and Letters. . . . The period of the first World War was a hiatus; for he "joined up with the British and fought in the Royal Field Artillery; transferred to the A.E.F. when America came into the War; and still later was shifted to the Intelligence Section." . . . He says that "so far as my professional work goes I am particularly interested in the study of comparative literature. I have written a book on Alfred de Vigny and another called *Critical Ventures in Modern French Literature*." As a postscript he adds: "I have also contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Sewanee Review*, *P.M.L.A.* etc."

ALBERT GUÉRARD, whose "Confessions of an Unrepentant Wilsonian" were published in the Autumn 1940 *American Scholar*, was born in France, received his B.A. from the University of Paris, did post-graduate work in London and at the Sorbonne, came to this country in 1906 and has been professor of general literature at Stanford University since 1925. His hobby is the international language problem, for he believes such a language would be a symbol and instrument of the international spirit. . . . "I am convinced that only by superimposing a neutral medium of communication can the world preserve and foster every national culture, even the smallest, with all enjoying *Gleichberechtigung*. . . . At the time of writing the present essay I was still alive (had just survived reviewing *The Philosophy of George Santayana*). I am at present chiefly thinking of the imperious necessity of making our own principles clear; of turning them into a standing peace offer: a peace without vindictiveness, but without compromise."

It would be foolish to tell the reader who WALTER LIPPMANN is; but fruitful to present a summary of his varied activity as a corrective to the idea that it has been wholly literary. For a time associate editor of the *New Republic*, then editor of the *New York World*, he has most recently been a columnist for the *New York Herald Tribune* and other papers. But from June-October 1917 he was assistant to the Secretary of War, later a captain in the Military Intelligence and secretary of the group which prepared data for the Peace Conference. He has served as a Senator of Phi Beta Kappa and a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard. The last of his long and almost annual series of books



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

beginning with *A Preface to Politics* is *Some Notes on War and Peace*, brought out in 1940.

J. H. POLLACK says "As an undergraduate I lived in the library and suffered from violent attacks of anti-scholasticism. Symptoms of this disease erupted in my first play (a satire on a psychology department) and I wrote several additional bad plays one of which achieved production. I have been on the staff of the *Jewish Frontier*, and have contributed articles to many magazines."

During his boyhood CHARLES I. LONG was pointed out as the bright lad with a passion for birds and music; and although during his sojourn in college he failed to distinguish himself in fields that held no attraction for him he did excellent work in those that seemed to him to warrant effort. By the time of his graduation he was a member of three honorary societies—in the fields of biology, geology and literature.

*The American Scholar* in the Spring of 1937 published EDWARD WEISMILLER's "Bright Bird, Ascend." At about the same time his *The Deer Come Down* was brought out. . . . After a year at Oxford (1938-39) on a Rhodes Scholarship he spent the summer of 1939 in Germany and he says of those months: "The harvest poem was written in the Black Forest, at a little town called Triberg, late in August of that year." Of the period since then he writes: "I did graduate work at Harvard all last winter and am this year teaching freshman composition. . . . I'm doing a translation of a French novel for Random House and that will be published in the autumn under the title (I fear) of *The Young Concubine*. I believe a second volume of poems will be ready in the fall."

STEWART HOLBROOK was born in Vermont of Yankee stock. "I worked as a lumberjack in the woods, following the timberline from Maine to British Columbia and Oregon; had newspaper experience in Winnipeg and in Portland, Oregon (where I covered strikes, murders, forest fires, riots and other interesting things for *The Morning Oregonian*) and began contributing to magazines with the old *Century*, *Bookman* and Mr. Mencken's *Mercury*. For almost a decade I have been a free-lance writer and in this pleasant and precarious occupation have ranged the country every year or so from Eastport, Maine to Hoquiam, Washington. I early acquired the drug-habit of writing books, all on the American scene —*Holy Old Mackinaw, A Natural History of the American Lumberjack* (1938) was followed by *Let Them Live, Iron Brew* and *Ethan Allen*. At


**THE YARDSTICK PRESS ANNOUNCES**

*March 17, the Publication of*

**A LIVING AGE BOOK**

# NEW POEMS: 1940

An Anthology of British & American Verse

**Edited by Oscar Williams**

With a foreword by George Barker

WHATEVER else it may have buried, the landslide of events has not buried our poets. In fact, the poets are more than ever concerned with the realities. Here is their answer to an age of unrest. Most of the verse included has been written or published since Sept. 1, 1939. The most important year in modern history may well have produced the most important poetry of the decade, and this anthology is an attempt to explore the poetic output of that period. A stirring collection!

**With 30 Portraits of the Poets.**

**NEW POEMS by**

| | |
|---|---|
| Conrad Aiken | Archibald MacLeish |
| W. H. Auden | Marianne Moore |
| George Barker | Frederic Prokosch |
| John Berryman | John Crowe Ransom |
| Elizabeth Bishop | W. R. Rodgers |
| R. P. Blackmur | Muriel Rukeyser |
| Hugh Chisholm | Marshall Schacht |
| Gene Derwood | Delmore Schwartz |
| Richard Eberhart | Theodore Spencer |
| William Empson | Stephen Spender |
| Lloyd Frankenberg | Wallace Stevens |
| Horace Gregory | Allen Tate |
| Alfred Hayes | Dylan Thomas |
| Terence Heywood | Robt. Penn Warren |
| Robinson Jeffers | Oscar Williams |
| Weldon Kees | Wm. Carlos Williams |
| Willard Maas | David Wolff |
| Louis MacNeice | Marya Zaturenska |

**..... MAIL TODAY ! .....**

**THE LIVING AGE, Book Service**
**420 Madison Ave., New York City**

Please send me a copy of NEW POEMS: 1940 on day of publication.

☐ Enclosed find $2.50. ☐ Send C.O.D.

Name .....

Address .....




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

present I am at work on a book (probably with the title *Murder Out Yonder*) which will 'prove' that we of the so-called back-country have always had a higher quality of crime—approaching the classic—than have the city-slickers. My ambition as a writer is to do a shelf of books about American persons and scenes which conventional historians have ignored or have treated shabbily. It'll take another twenty years. . . . Incidentally, I have lectured on 'Low-Brow American History' at Boston and Harvard Universities."

ARNO BADER is a graduate, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., of the University of Michigan and now assistant professor of English there. Old subscribers will remember him as the author of "From a China Journal (1936-1937)" (Vol. 8, No. 2)—parts of a diary written while he was exchange professor at National Central University in Nanking, China. He says of that academic year: "It represents the best thing that has happened to me so far in life. A few weeks there were enough to convince me that the Chinese know more about the art of life than we do in America, and so I tried to learn as much as I could." He adds: "Since my return from China I have followed the course of the Sino-Japanese war (with sympathies that I suppose are obvious) and have continued my interest in things Chinese. . . . Some people enjoy satire and caricature and some don't. I am one of those who do. From the moment I saw my first crude newspaper caricatures in China I felt I had found something new and different, and the present article is the result. . . . It seems to me that some of the most truly unique things in Chinese art and life grow out of the impact of the West upon the East—and this is so whether you are considering Chinese jazz, taxicabs or modern art."

ERNST BACON, now Dean of the School of Music and professor of piano and composition at Converse College, was formerly (among many other things) a Guggenheim Fellow, supervisor and conductor of the Federal Music Project in San Francisco and conductor of the San Francisco Civic Junior Orchestra. Under his administration the Spartanburg Festival has been transformed from an event built largely around imported stars and famous organizations to an event that in so far as possible is local and therefore indigenous.

ARTHUR BERNARD RECKNAGEL teaches forestry (he is professor of forestry at Cornell University), serves on commissions in his field (such as Empire State Forest Products Association) and in his spare time—at least some of it—writes on the subject.


***The publishers of Philosophic Abstracts take pleasure in announcing for Summer 1941 publication***

# THE DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY

Although embraced in one volume, the dictionary covers metaphysics, ethics, epistemology, logic, philosophy of religion, esthetics, philosophy of law, philosophy of education, social philosophy and philosophical psychology. Special emphasis has been placed on the definition of basic concepts and terms germane to the contemporary schools of philosophy, logical positivism, dialectical materialism, mathematical logic, neo-scholasticism, philosophy of science, Chinese, Jewish and Indian philosophy.

The DICTIONARY OF PHILOSOPHY is edited by Dagobert D. Runes with the collaboration of Alonzo Church, Rudolf Carnap, G. Watts Cunningham, Edgar Sheffield Brightman, Irwin Edman, Rudolf Allers, A. C. Ewing, Ralph Tyler Flewelling, Jorgen Jorgensen, Ledger Wood, William Marias Malisoff, Carl G. Hempel, B. A. G. Fuller, A. Cornelius Benjamin, Hunter Guthrie, Wilbur Long, V. J. McGill, A. C. Pegis, Glenn R. Morrow, Jeseph Ratner, Wendell T. Bush, Dorion Cairns, James K. Feibleman, Paul A. Schillp, Paul Weiss and a number of other scholars.

***Applications for further literature, as well as other communications, should be addressed to:***

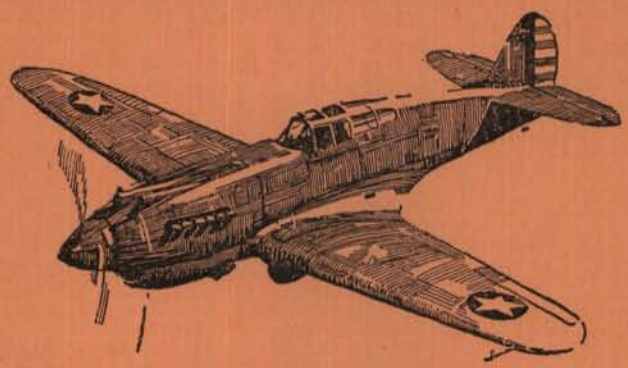
***PHILOSOPHIC ABSTRACTS***

**15 East 40th Street** **New York City**




LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

# For Your Protection



## The UNITED STATES

is engaged in the great work of strengthening our defenses for the protection of all those things which we hold dear.

Fraternity men and women everywhere are pledged to do their bit. We here in the L. G. Balfour Company are dedicated to the service of the American college fraternity system. Part of our service is the vigilance and protection of fraternity names and insignia. We believe in the fraternity spirit and the unity and accomplishments for which the insignia stands.

You, too, can do your part in the protection of your own system of insignia by discouraging display and purchases from unauthorized sources. Support the contracts of your National organization.

*Buy with confidence from the*

L. G. BALFOUR COMPANY

***Official Jeweler to***

**Phi Beta Kappa**

# L. G. BALFOUR COMPANY

**FACTORIES — ATTLEBORO, MASS.**

**In Canada it's BIRKS in association**

***Halifax : Montreal · Toronto : Vancouver***

*To You* who have established yourself in business or are serving in the great field of education, we offer our facilities and staff suggestions to aid you in solving your problems in

## AWARDS . . .

Possibly for long and faithful service—or citations for unusual service—whatever the problem, we have suggestions to meet limitations of modest budgets.

## STATIONERY and PAPER PRODUCTS . . .

for social use or business. Your inquiry will receive a prompt and courteous reply.

## INSIGNIA . . .

for clubs or new organizations which you might wish to sponsor.

**YOU ARE INVITED** *to write fully giving details such as quantities, budget, etc., for suggestions.*

### *Coupon for Convenience*

**Clip out and paste to a 1c Govt. post card.**

L. G. BALFOUR COMPANY
ATTLEBORO, MASS.

*Gentlemen:* I am interested in the following with

..... FRATERNITY

decoration. Please send samples.

- ☐ 1941 Blue Book
- ☐ Trophy Catalog
- ☐ Dance Programs
- ☐ Stationery
- ☐ Invitations

*Signed* .....

*Street* .....

*City & State* .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

*IN addition to the capable production of novels and other literary works in large editions for publishers, we are prepared to design and execute in an individual manner: Genealogies, Catalogues of Collections, and other privately printed Books.*

*The Haddon Craftsmen*
*Camden, New Jersey*

*New York Office: 393 Seventh Avenue*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED